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THE

CHINESE REPOSITORY.

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ART. I. *Notices of China, No. V: marriage ceremonies, translated and abridged from the Annales de la Propagation de la Foi.* From a letter* of M. BOHET, missionary in Fuhkeën. By S. R.

IT is no uncommon thing in China, to contract matrimonial alliances for children before they are born, as follows. Two women mutually promise to marry their expected offspring, provided they be of different sexes; and to render the promise more obligatory, pledges are given; as for instance, a ring and bracelet for her who shall be the mother of a daughter, and two fans of the same shape and color, for the one who shall give birth to a son. When this agreement is entered into, it is almost impossible to withdraw from it. The mutual promise is afterwards written in a book with gilt leaves, consisting of a single sheet of paper. After the birth of the daughter, her name is recorded upon this document, together with those of her father and mother, and the place of her birth. As a matter of etiquette, the book is then sent to the parents of the boy, who receive it, and on their part return a similar one to the other party. These formalities being finished, it is impossible to draw back, and the marriage must take place, except in case one of the children becomes a leper. We see then, that the affair of marriage is not a question of consent between the affianced parties, since it is concluded by the parents, long before the children are of an age to give it. This is the reason

* Dated Hinghwa foo, March 4th, 1832.

why there are so many unhappy women who find no end to their domestic troubles, but in suicide. Ordinarily, the parents take the first steps towards concluding a matrimonial contract, but there are persons in the country, men and women, intrusted with the business of match-making. These people make it their profession, get their livelihood by it, and generally follow no other. Marriage is a sort of trade, of which these go-betweens are the monopolists!

It is dishonorable to a girl ten years of age not to have been betrothed, and after that period, the saying is, 'the market is dull.' At the age of fourteen or fifteen years, a girl can no longer go out of the house, though she may be pardoned if curiosity has led her now and then to peep out at the door. But when strangers enter the house she is obliged to hide herself in the most retired apartment. Every thing being ready for the espousals, the parents of the lad inform those of the girl, that they may fix the day. At the appointed time, the go-between, attended by two men and as many women, goes to the house of the future spouse with the usual presents in baskets. In one are found the two gilt books, mentioned above, around which are arranged diverse kinds of fruits, according to etiquette; and in the four corners are coins ranged in piles. Another contains a small fresh ham, the foot of which must be sent back to the intended father-in-law. A third basket has vermicelli in it. On the arrival of the bearess of the presents, crackers are fired to proclaim the news to the neighbors, and two red tapers are lighted in the hall of entrance. Afterwards, the betrothed apportions the ham to those present, but the number is often so great, that there is scarcely a morsel for each. She also sends the little book, containing the promise of marriage, to her intended husband; and her parents send him as many baskets containing articles of the same value as those presented to her. They are, however, of a different kind, and consist of various fruits, of which they make six separate parcels, each having a certain flower, set upon red paper, fastened to its four corners.

The affianced boy likewise receives from his mother-in-law (that is to be) some small tokens of trifling value, which he immediately distributes to those who may be present. The seed of the gourd, dried in the sun, forms one of the latter. After these ceremonies, the youth cannot upon any account see his espoused; he has never seen her yet, nor will he till the day of their nuptials. If he has not done it already, the father of the girl is not tardy to demand her price, about $32 being the most moderate sum for a wife. More commonly it is from 66 to 80 taels. In all cases, the young man

cannot have his bride till the stipulated price has been paid, and he is furthermore obliged to pay the additional expenses incurred when she quits the paternal roof, and goes to live with her husband.

At length, when the money is paid, and the time for the marriage comes, the guests resort to the house of the bridegroom, to celebrate it. The courier, who acts as guide to the chair-bearers, accompanied by a person appointed to direct the movements of the bride, takes the lead; yet before starting, they consult an astrologer, to ascertain whether the day is propitious or unfavorable. In the latter case, they take care to provide themselves with a large piece of pork, so that the demon, which in the form of a tiger, may be likely to oppose them, being wholly occupied in devouring the meat, may leave them unmolested. Meantime the maiden, rising before dawn, makes her toilet in the *haut ton* of elegance, dressing herself with her richest jewels and apparel. The best garments are concealed by others less beautiful worn over them, and the whole is covered by a bridal dress, which is simply a large mantle that completely envelops her. She is also muffled up in an enormous hat, resembling a flat wide basket, that descends to the shoulders and covers the whole figure. Thus attired she takes her seat in a red [and gilt] sedan, borne by four men. All who meet her upon the road are obliged to yield the path, even though it be the viceroy of the province that passes by. The sedan is entirely closed, so that she can neither see nor be seen. At a little distance from it, one or more chests of the same color as the sedan, containing the apparel of the bride, are borne in state. Most commonly they contain nothing but old petticoats and small linen, the sport of all sorts of vermin. Custom requires that, during the time of the procession, all those who form the train should weep and cry, nd until they arrive at the bridegroom's house, no music is heard ' it that of wails. [?] If however the distance is great they make a pause, and only resume their lamentations when near the end of the journey.

At last, the courier, who is in advance of the train some minutes, arrives at the house all panting for breath, knocks loudly at the door, and cries out with vehemence, "There she is!" and at once a multitude of crackers, to the noise of which are added the discordant sounds of many instruments of music, announce to the neighborhood the arrival of the bride. As she stops at the door, the bridegroom hastens to conceal himself in the most retired part of the house, and there closets himself, now and then putting his eye to the key-hole to see what is transpiring without. The go-between, who accompanies the spouse, then takes a little child, if there be one in the house, and

makes him salute the young bride, after which she also enters the chamber of the intended husband, to inform him of his bride's arrival. He at first affects indifference to all that is going on around him, and seems occupied in other matters; however he goes out with the go-between, advancing with a grave step, and approaching the sedan, opens the door with an air of agitation and trembling: the bride steps out, and they both go forward together to the ancestral tablet, which they salute with three genuflections, and then seat themselves at table opposite to each other face to face. The go-between serves them, and the bridegroom eats and drinks, but the bride merely makes a pretense of it, for the large hat, which all the time screens her and conceals her figure, prevents her from raising anything to her mouth. The repast being finished, the now wedded pair enter their chamber.

All the guests have a lively curiosity to know the result of this first interview, for it is then only that the husband removes the mask from his wife's head, and for the first time in his life beholds her features. Whether pretty or ugly, blind, blear-eyed, or deformed, he must make up his mind to have her for his lawful wife, and whatever may be his disappointment, he must disguise it, and outwardly appear content with his lot. After he has considered his wife for some time, the guests, parents and friends, men and women, all enter the apartment to do the same, and view her at their leisure. Every one is allowed to express his opinion aloud, but the criticisms of the women are most severe. They closely scrutinize the newly married lady, and make every little natural defect which they observe, the subject of remark and malicious exaggeration. They are the more severe in their censures, from the recollection that they themselves have been ill-treated in like circumstances, and find great pleasure in having an opportunity to be avenged. This cruel examination, during which she who is the object of it, must keep silence, and cannot in any manner complain of the severe remarks that are made upon her person, being finished, she is at first introduced to her father-in-law and mother-in-law, who respectively salute her according to etiquette, and afterwards into the presence of her own father and mother.

It should be observed that neither of the parents of the bride appear at that wedding. Neither of them can be invited on the occasion, that matter belonging entirely to the bridegroom, who invites his parents and friends a fortnight beforehand.

The cards of invitation are peculiar in their form. They consist of a large red sheet of paper folded into two small ones, in the form

of letters, but on which there is nothing written. Only those who have received these cards in due form can be present at the nuptials. The bridegroom is always the bearer of them, and in delivering them to the guests, he at the same time makes to each a present of two cakes made of rice flour, cooked in water and colored red. The persons invited must, a few days before the fête, send him a sum of money equal to and even greater than the expenses they will be considered as occasioning. The least sum is eighty cash for a child, and a hundred and forty or more for an adult. This contribution serves not only to cover the cost of the bridal feast, but the additional expenses.

The second day of the wedding, the husband carries to the same gests, another card of invitation, like the first and with the same formalities, and everything passes off as on the preceding day. On the second day, the bride goes to present her respects to the ladies who have honored the nuptials by their presence, and makes a genuflection to each. They, in return, each make her a present of a ring, or something else, of indeterminate value. The smallest they can give, however, must be worth at least 40 cash. The young gentlemen, invited to the wedding, unite together after the feast, and make the bridegroom a present of two Chinese lanterns. In the course of the night the guests in concert get up a hurly-burly to the wedded pair. In the midst of the uproar, and when the latter are supposed to be asleep, the former try to break into their apartment, either by forcing the door, or by making a hole in the wall, in order to carry off some of the garments, or other things belonging to the married couple. If they succeed, the husband is obliged to repurchase the stolen articles.

In the ceremonies that accompany marriage entertainments, the gravity of Chinese manners does not allow of those animated signs of mirth, which we often see among us under similar circumstances, but on the other hand they indulge in many indecencies which our morals forbid. Throughout the whole of the fête, music is incessant, and the scene closes with a comedy, performed by professional actors, whose theatrical pieces are in as bad taste as those of the merry-andrews that go about our country to amuse people with their farces. Before the guests retire, they make an image of paper, or something else, representing a little child, which they carry to the bridal bed to secure a son for the first-born. The comedians receive a handful of cash for their services. Should the father and mother of one of the betrothed happen to die, the marriage is postponed during the season

of mourning. An interdict to the same effect is laid upon the whole empire when the emperor dies.

Marriage among the poor is more simple. They often purchase for a small sum, a little girl whom they train up to be their son's wife, when he is of a suitable age, and in that case the expenses are very much reduced. On the other hand, poor parents, who have a daughter already affianced, whom they find it difficult to maintain, send her with ceremony to the parents of her intended husband, who are obliged to receive and support her.

The 12th, 13th and 14th days of the Chinese moon, are holidays, consecrated to the worship of the genii or spirits, to whom the people address themselves praying for health and riches, the only blessings, alas! which these poor idolaters know or desire. At these times, in villages, where there are persons that have been married in the course of the year, the inhabitants, men and women, join together on one of these days, and go by night to visit the new wife, who, shut up in the house from which she cannot go out, as yet knows nobody in the place of her confinement.

The young woman receives her visitors standing by her bed, with her husband at her side. The men enter first, and carefully scrutinize her, but no one can say a word. She too is silent, but her husband being the speaker on the occasion, makes a pompous panegyric upon his wife, especially upon her external perfections, calling their attention to her pretty little feet, her beautiful hands, &c., &c. Meantime they are going and coming incessantly, and from their eager appearance, one might take them for people going to see rare beasts shut up in a menagerie. As fast as they retire, they are regaled with a cup of tea and a pipe of tobacco. After the men have satisfied their curiosity, then comes the women's turn. The husband withdraws, and leaves them the open field with his young wife. They notice her person with the closest scrutiny from head to foot, and afterwards every article of her apparel. She must take good heed not to be abashed, and to be very discreet in her words, for her person, her conversation, her carriage, everything about her is noticed, remembered, and very soon divulged and maliciously exaggerated. Every defect which they can discover becomes the common topic of conversation for a long time, among those of her sex, so that we may say that her reputation for life turns upon her discretion at that time, and besides, however grave and reserved may be her manner, however wise her words, however accomplished her person, the tongues of jealous women will always find matter for their censures. The

poor creature, well knowing that she cannot please every body, sometimes resolves to say nothing, and remains motionless as a statue, with an elongated visage, her eyes half-shut and fixed upon the ground, making no reply to any address, and suffering herself to be examined without uttering a word.

After the wedding is over, the son-in-law will not enter the house of his father-in-law, and vice versâ, unless they are mutually anticipated by a formal invitation to a feast, in which no point of etiquette can be dispensed with. When this duty has been performed they can visit each other at pleasure.

As the husband's father is considered as having purchased his daughter-in-law, she belongs to him, and he has the right to dispose of her. Hence it is, that many sell their son's widow to other persons, and often at a low price. If she has had children by her first marriage, they appertain by right to the father-in-law, and she cannot take them away with her. Henceforth these children have no relation to her, and no longer regard her as their mother.

In China, no account is made of relationship on the mother's side, and therefore the children of sisters may lawfully marry each other; but on the side of fathers and brothers it has no end, and relatives by the male line, though of the hundredth generation from the common stock, can in no case intermarry. The laws severely forbid it, and such a marriage would be null.

A woman cannot visit her parents for at least a year after her nuptials, unless the most urgent circumstances, such as the death of one of her parents, oblige her to do so. Before she pays them a visit, they must call upon her. After that she is at liberty to go, accompanied by her husband, carrying presents with her, in great formality, with a sedan, music, &c., and returns to her home only when her father-in-law recalls her in state, after having repeated her presents anew.

Note. These notices of Chinese usages are by us the more valued, because they afford information concerning things which exist in the interior of the country, where they have been described by eyewitnesses; but more notes are required than are here added, especially where the usages described are different from what we find in this part of the empire. Thus, in the present article, the writer speaks of the weeping and crying of those who go in procession when carrying the bride to the home of her new husband; in this part of the country, nothing of the kind, so far as we know, exists; but previously to her leaving the home of her parents—and usually some ten or twenty days previously—there is a long season of weeping and wailing, in which she is joined by many of her friends and relatives.

ART. II. *Notices of Japan, No. VI.: anecdotes illustrative of Japanese character; the visit of the Phæton; a conspiracy; a wrecked ship; a magistrate's sagacity, &c., &c.*

OF this kind of illustration, the Dutch writers afford very little, and that little is chiefly found in Doeff's Recollections; though from Titsingh's unreadable Annals a few anecdotes may be gathered, that strongly exemplify some national peculiarities both of mind and manners; for example, the vindictive spirit and inflexible constancy of the Japanese, the slight account they make of human life (save as its loss would imply an act of injustice), their love of a jest, and their ideas of good breeding. Upon the established principle, that tragedy should precede farce, we will begin with an instance given by Doeff of the abdomen-ripping. He does not give it as an anecdote, but relates it as part of the history of his presidentship. His story is too prolix to be given in his own words, to say nothing of his ignorance of the object of the English officer.

In the year 1808, Capt. Pellew of the Phæton, while cruizing in the Indian seas, projected the capture of the annual Dutch vessels trading with Japan. His search for them proved unsuccessful, that being one of the years in which none were dispatched; but he prosecuted it even into the bay of Nagasaki. The consequences of this step, unintentionally and unconsciously on his part, were such as to excite a fierce hatred of England in the minds of the Japanese.

Upon captain Pellew's making the coast, and the report of a strange vessel in sight reaching Nagasaki, the usual deputation was sent forth;—the previous inquiries and taking of hostages, described by Siebold, have been ordered in consequence of this transaction. The boat bearing the members of the Dutch factory was in advance of that with the Japanese commission, and, as the ship displayed Dutch colors, advanced joyfully to meet her shallop, when, as soon as they were within reach of each other, the Dutch officials were grappled, dragged forcibly into the ship's boat, and carried on board. The Japanese police-officers and interpreter, in utter dismay at so unexpected, so incomprehensible a catastrophe, rowed back to relate the misadventure of their foreign colleagues. The governor of Nagasaki, to whom the loss of two of the strangers in his charge was matter of life and death, ordered the two *go-banyosi* to bring back the captured Dutchmen, or not to return alive; and then sent to ask Doeff what could be the meaning of the occurrence, and whether he saw any means of recovering his people. Doeff replied, that he conceived the ship to be an English man-of-war, and that the Dutchmen, being civilians, might be recovered by negotiation. But even whilst these messages were passing, the Phæton made her way, unpiloted, into the harbor, and the Japanese, confounded at an exploit altogether unprecedented, raised a cry that she was bearing down upon Dezima.

The governor, who now feared to lose his whole factory, ordered all the Dutchmen, with their most valuable effects, to the government-house, there, at least, to be as safe as himself. They found him in a fearful rage, and he greeted Doeff with the words: "Be you easy, *opperhoofd*; I will have your Dutchmen back for you." Soon afterwards came a note from one of the captives, stating that the ship was English, and that captain Pellew requested provisions and water.

With this demand the governor declared himself little disposed to comply; and he was busily engaged in making preparations for destroying the strange vessel, according to the general tenor of his instructions. His first measure was to summon the troops from the nearest post, one of the prince of Fizen's, where a thousand men were bound to be constantly on duty; only sixty or seventy were found there, the commandant himself being amongst the missing. This neglect of orders by others nearly sealed the governor's own fate: but he did not intermit his efforts to regain the Dutchmen, and his scheme for succeeding by negociation was truly Japanese. The chief secretary waited upon Doeff, informing him that he had received orders to fetch back the captives; and to the question, "How?" replied, "Even as the ship has seized the Dutchmen, treacherously; so shall I go on board quite alone, and with the strongest professions of friendship; I am then to ask for the captain, to request the restoration of the Dutchmen; and in case of a refusal, to stab him first, and then myself." Doeff's representations to both the secretary and the governor, that such an act must infallibly cause the death of the captives by the hands of the enraged crew, could with difficulty induce them to abandon this wildly-vindictive project.

One of the Dutch captives was now sent on shore, on parole, to fetch the provisions asked for. He reported that he and his comrade had been strictly interrogated as to the annual Dutch ship; and that the English captain threatened, should he detect any attempt at deception respecting them, to put both captives to death, and burn every vessel in the harbor, Japanese or Chinese. The governor was most unwilling to let his recovered Dutchman return to captivity, but was at length convinced of the necessity of suffering him to keep his word, for the sake of the other. He then gave him provisions and water to take on board, but in very small quantities, hoping thus to detain the ship until he should be ready for hostilities. Capt. Pellew had by this time satisfied himself that his intended prizes were not in Nagasaki bay, and in consequence, upon receiving this scanty supply, he sent both Dutchmen on shore. Their release was to the two police-officers, who were still rowing despondingly round and round the Phæton, meditating upon the impossibility of executing their commission, a respite from certain death.

Meanwhile, the governor was collecting troops to attack the English frigate: but his operations proceeded slowly, and other subsidiary measures were suggested. The prince of Omura, who came to Nagasaki with his troops before dawn, advised burning her, by means of fifty small boats filled with combustibles, the Dutch president preventing her escape by sinking vessels laden with stones in the difficult passage out of the harbor. But whilst all these plans were under consideration, whilst troops were assembling as fast as possible, and commissioners rowing from shore to shore to gain time by proposals to negociate respecting commerce, the Englishman, who had no further object in remaining, sailed out of the harbor as he had sailed in, unpiloted, leaving the Japanese even more confounded than before.

The Dutch now returned to Dezima, and as far as they were concerned, the whole affair was over. Not so with respect to the Japanese. The governor had, involuntarily indeed, disobeyed his orders, by suffering the escape of the intruder; and he felt that he had been negligent in not knowing the state of the coast-guard

posts. To a Japanese, his proper course under such circumstances could not require deliberation. Nor did it. The catastrophe is thus told:*

"He so well knew the fate awaiting him, that, within half an hour of our departure, he assembled his household, and in their presence, ripped himself up. The commanders of the deficient posts, officers not of the *siogoun* but of the prince of Fizen, followed his example; thus saving their kindred from inevitable dishonor. That their neglect would indeed have been punished with the utmost severity, appears from the circumstance that the prince of Fizen, although not then in his dominions, but compulsorily resident at Yedo, was punished with a hundred days of imprisonment, because the servants whom he had left behind him had not duly obeyed his orders. On the other hand, the young son of the governor of Nagasaki, who was altogether blameless on the occasion, is at this hour in high favor at court, and has obtained an excellent post. When I visited the court of Yedo in 1810, I was told the following particulars respecting this youth. The prince of Fizen, considering that the death of the governor of Nagasaki might in a great measure be imputed to him, inasmuch as the desertion of the guard posts, though occurring without his fault, had mainly contributed to it, requested permission of the council of state to make a present of two thousand *koban* (about £2,650) to the son of the unfortunate governor. Not only was this request granted, but the wholly unexpected and unsolicited favor was added, that, *to spare him further applications, he might repeat the gift annually.* This permission, *being equivalent to a command*, compelled the prince of Fizen to pay an annuity to the governor's orphans."†

This story, falling within Heer Doeff's personal knowledge, accurately characterizes the spirit of the Japanese government, and the occasions rendering suicide imperative. It is melancholy to be obliged to add that, according to report, Dr. Von Siebold has had the misfortune of causing a similar catastrophe, though upon a smaller scale. The details are not yet before the public, but are said to be these. The high reputation of the doctor for science, and the favor of influential Japanese friends, obtained for him permission to remain at Yedo for the purpose of giving instruction to the learned members of the college, when Col. Van Sturler returned to Dezima; and afterwards permission, more extraordinary still, to travel in the empire. He was, however, prohibited from taking plans or making

* Doeff.

† Both Meylan and Fischer, in speaking shortly of this unfortunate visit of the Phæton to the bay of Nagasaki, assert that captain Pellew insisted upon a supply of fresh beef, as the ransom of his Dutch prisoners, threatening to hang them in case of a refusal; that the governor, out of pure humanity, sacrificed a bullock to save the lives of two men, and killed himself to expiate this sin of commission, this violation of a positive law. Now, to say nothing of the improbability of an English gentleman's being guilty of an act so idly and so foolishly violent and cruel, neither Meylan nor Fischer, who were not then in Dezima, could know this story save by hearsay; while Doeff was not only on the spot, but one of the chief actors in the prologue to the final tragedy; and the narrative in the text is taken from his pages, with no other alteration than compression, explanation of captain Pellew's views, and omission of some vituperation of that officer in particular, and his countrymen in general. Doeff, who explicitly states the governor's reasons for killing himself, says not a word of beef; and he assuredly desires not to favor England or the English, to whom he imputes every body's misdemeanors. The tale had grown more marvelous by tradition when told to the later writers—that is all.

maps, but was detected in the transgression of this prohibition, and imprisoned. His escape was effected by the fidelity and attachment of his Japanese domestics; but the person or persons who were responsible for his safe custody had no resource but the *hara-kiri*. This is the story circulated on the Continent; the accuracy of the details cannot be avouched; but of the fact, that the German doctor's escape, like the British sailor's, caused Japanese suicide, there seems to be, unhappily, no doubt.

But to leave the subject of self-slaughter. The following fragment of history, from the Annals of the *siogouns* of the Gongen dynasty, is characteristic alike of the vindictive temper, resolution, high sense of honor, and ferocity in punishment of the Japanese, and also of their long enduring hereditary gratitude.

During * the civil wars (which will be related in a succeeding paper on Japanese history) between Gongen and his grand-daughter's husband, Hideyosi, the prince of Toza had been a faithful adherent of the latter; after whose discomfiture, he fell into the conqueror's hands. He endured much cruel, much degrading treatment; and at last, his hands were ordered to be struck off, which in Japan is the very extremity of dishonor. The prisoner upbraids the usurper, who thus appears to have been present throughout, with his perjury to Hideyosi, and his barbarity to himself. The answer to his reproaches was sentence of decapitation. The prince's son, Marubasi Chuya, instantly resolved to avenge his father's death; but being then a destitute and helpless child, but nine years old, he carefully concealed his purpose until he should find himself in a condition to effect it. This did not happen until the accession of Gongen's great-grandson, Minamoto no Yeyetsuna, in 1651, when he was appointed commander of the pikemen of Yorinobu, the new *siogoun's* uncle. Chuya now deemed the moment of revenge arrived. He concerted his schemes with Ziositz [or Yuino Siosits], the son of an eminent dyer but a man of such talent, that he had been tutor to Yorinobu. This prince himself was suspected of being implicated in the conspiracy; if he was, the presence of mind and firmness of his confederates effectually screened him. Yet, when we are told that the drift of the plot was to exterminate the whole race of Gongen, and to divide the empire between Chuya and Siosits, this seems a design so unlikely for a prince of the proscribed family to participate in, that we must suppose the views of the conspirators to be misrepresented, or Yorinobu to have been duped by his accomplices, as the issue of the transaction renders it hardly possible to acquit him of all knowledge of the plot.

An act of indiscretion on the part of Chuya, after so many years (nearly fifty) of prudence, betrayed the conspiracy, and orders were issued for his arrest, and that of Siosits. It was deemed important to seize both, or at least Chuya, who resided at Yedo, alive, in the hope of extorting further disclosures; and measures were taken accordingly. An alarm of fire was raised at Chuya's door, and when he ran out to ascertain the degree of danger threatening his house, he was suddenly surrounded and attacked. He defended himself stoutly, cutting down two of his assailants; but, in the end, was overpowered by numbers, and secured. His wife, meanwhile, had heard the sounds of conflict, and apprehending its cause, immediately caught up those of her husband's papers which would have revealed the names of his confederates (amongst whom were men of distinction and princes of the land), and burnt them. Her presence of mind remains

* Titsingh, page 14.

even to this day a topic of admiration in Japan, where the highest eulogy for judgment and resolution that can be bestowed upon a woman, is to compare her to the wife of Chuya. Such qualities, it may be conjectured, had procured her the honor, contrary to Japanese custom, of being her husband's confidant.

The plans of government being thus foiled, even in their apparent success, the next orders were to arrest all the known friends of Chuya. Siosits avoided capture by the usual form of suicide; but two of his friends, named Ikeyemon and Fachiyemon, were seized and interrogated. They promptly acknowledged their participation in a conspiracy which they esteemed honorable, but refused to betray a confederate. The destruction of Chuya's papers left no possible means of discovering the parties implicated, except the confession of one of the prisoners, and they were therefore subjected to tortures sickening to relate, but which must nevertheless be known, if we would justly appreciate either the firmness or the ferocity of the Japanese character.

Chuya, Ikeyemon, and Fachiyemon were, in the first instance, plastered all over with wet clay, then laid upon hot ashes, until the drying and contracting of the clay, rent and burst the flesh into innumerable wounds. Not one of them changed countenance, and Fachiyemon, taunting his tormentors like a Mohawk in the hands of hostile Cherokees, observed, "I have had a long journey, and this warming is good for my health; it will supple my joints, and render my limbs more active." The next form of torture tried was making an incision of about eight inches long in the back, into which melted copper was poured; and this copper, when it had cooled, was dug out again, tearing away the flesh that adhered to it. This likewise failed to conquer the fortitude of the victims: Fachiyemon affected to consider it a new-fashioned application of the *moxa*, a Japanese mode of medical treatment by actual cautery; and Chuya thus replied to the judge-minister, who urged him to avoid further suffering by revealing his accomplices: "Scarcely had I completed my ninth year, when I resolved to avenge my father, and seize the throne. My courage you can no more shake than a wall of iron. I defy your ingenuity! Invent new tortures; my fortitude is proof against them!"

The government now despaired of obtaining more victims than those they already held, and the day of execution was appointed. When it dawned, the death-doomed, amounting in number to thirty-four, were, conducted in procession through the streets of the town, headed by Chuya; his wife and mother, with Ikeyemon's wife, and four other women, closed the melancholy train. It may here be remarked, that, out of thirty-four prisoners, only three were tortured; probably because the ringleaders only were supposed to possess the knowledge desired; and Chuya's wife, who was manifestly in the secret of the names so keenly and ferociously sought, could, as a woman, give no available evidence, even if confession were extorted from her.

As the procession reached the place of execution, a man, bearing two gold-hilted swords broke through the encircling crowd, approached the minister of justice whose duty it was to superintend the work of death, and thus addressed him: "I am Sibata Zabrobe, the friend of Chuya and of Siosits. Living far remote, I have but lately heard of their discovered conspiracy, and immediately hastened to Yedo. Hitherto I have remained in concealment, hoping that the *siogoun's* clemency would pardon Chuya; but as he is now condemned to die, I am come to embrace him, and if need be, to suffer with him."—"You are a worthy man."

replied the judicial officer, "and I would all the world were like you. I need not await the governor of Yedo's permission to grant your wish; you are at liberty to join Chuya."

The two friends conversed awhile undisturbed; then Sibata produced a jug of *sake*, which he had brought, that they might drink it together, and as they did so, they bade each other a last farewell. Both wept. Chuya earnestly thanked Sibata for coming to see him once more. Sibata said: "Our body in this world resembles the magnificent flower *asa-gawa*, that, blossoming at peep of dawn, fades and dies as soon as the sun has risen; or the ephemeral *kogero* (an insect). But after death, we shall be in a better world, where we may uninterruptedly enjoy each other's society." Having thus spoken, he rose, left Chuya, and thanked the superintending officer for his indulgence.

All the prisoners were then fastened to separate crosses, and the executioners brandished their fatal pikes. Chuya was first dispatched, by ripping him up with two cuts in the form of a cross. The others were then successively executed; Chuya's wife dying with the constancy promised by her previous conduct.

It may here be observed, that the difference between this execution and all the descriptions given in the last paper, tends to confirm the conjecture there hazarded that the manner is not fixed, but depends much upon the judge. The different writers describe what they have seen, rather than what is prescribed. This ripping up of Chuya does not affect what was there said of the *hara-kiri*, the essence of which is, its being suicidal, or the proper act of the sufferer. This is merely a substitute for decapitation. But our story is not yet finished.

When this judicial massacre was over, Sibata presented his two valuable swords to the official superintendent, with these words: "To you I am indebted for my conversation with my lost friend; and I now request you to denounce me to the *siogoun*, that I may suffer like Chuya."—"The gods forbid that I should act thus!" rejoined the person addressed. "You deserve a better fate than to die like him; you, who whilst all his other friends were consulting their own safety by lurking in concealment, came boldly forward to embrace him."

As the name of Sibata Zabrobe does not again occur in the Annals, it may be hoped that this stout-hearted and faithful friend was suffered to return safely to his distant home. But the fate of another of the suspected conspirators is still to be told, and the manner of his escape exemplifies one of the lofy characteristics of the nation—their devoted fidelity.

The burning of Chuya's papers had destroyed all proof, if any had existed, of Yorinobu's complicity; but circumstances were strong against him. His palace was searched, but nothing found that could decidedly inculpate him; and now his secretary, Kanno Heyemon, came forward with a declaration, that he, and only he, in the prince's establishment, had been cognizant of the conspiracy, confirming his assertion by ripping himself up. The fruit of this self-immolation was, that Yorinobu, although still suspected, remained unmolested at Yedo; and that a suspected prince did so remain, may show how modified and bound by law is Japanese despotism. Some generations afterwards, Yosimune, descendant of Yorinobu's, became *siogoun*, and evinced the gratitude of the family for the preservation of their ancestor, by raising the posterity of Kanno Heyemon to some of the highest honors of the state, and rendering them hereditary in his race.

The next anecdote, taken from the same source, will both show that the wo-

men share in this lofty contempt for life, whether their own or another's, when they conceive duty, or the public interest, to require the sacrifice; and that, if a *siogoun* possesses despotic power, there is little disposition to let him exercise it arbitrarily.

Early in the eighteenth century, the *siogoun* Tsunayosi, a profligate prince, who by his vices had destroyed his constitution, accidentally lost his only son, and resolved to adopt an heir, the dignity of *siogoun* having never been inherited by a daughter. This is a constant practice in Japan with the childless, whether sovereign or subject; but the established rule is, to select for adoption the son of a brother, or other near relation; in direct contravention of which, Tsunayosi, disregarding the claims of his nephew, fixed his choice upon an alien to his blood, the son of a mere favorite of inferior birth.

The prime minister, Ino Kamon no kami, remonstrated, alleging that a step so unprecedented would exasperate not only the princes of the blood, but all the grandees of the empire. His representations proved unavailing against the favorite's influence; whereupon he sought the empress, or *midai*. To her the minister revealed his master's illegal and dangerous design; explained the probability, if not certainty, that a general insurrection would be its immediate consequence; and declared that, unless she could avert it, the adoption and its fearful results were inevitable. The *midai*—a daughter of the reigning *mikado*, and high-minded, as became her birth and station—meditated profoundly for some minutes; then raising her head, she bade the alarmed minister be of good cheer, for she had devised means of prevention. But what these means might be she positively refused to tell him.

Upon the day preceding that appointed for the adoption, the daughter of the 'son of heaven,' who had long been wholly neglected by her libertine husband, invited him to take *sake* with her; and upon his assenting, prepared a sumptuous entertainment. While he was drinking, she retired for a moment to her private apartment, wrote and dispatched a note of instructions to Ino Kamon, and then, placing in her girdle the ornamented dagger worn by women of exalted rank, she returned to the banqueting-room. Shortly afterwards, she announced her wish for a private conversation with the *siogoun*, and dismissed her attendants.

The Japanese annalist relates, that when they were alone, the princess earnestly implored her consort to grant the request she was about to prefer to him. He refused to pledge his word until he should know what she desired; and she then said: "I am assured that you purpose adopting the son of Dewa no kami as your heir. Such a step, my most dear and honored lord, must grievously offend all those princes whose claims are thus superseded; it will unavoidably provoke a general insurrection, and occasion the destruction of the empire. My prayer therefore is, that you would renounce so ruinous a design." The *siogoun* was incensed at such feminine interference with his project, and indignantly replied; "How darest thou, a mere woman, speak upon state affairs? The empire is mine, to rule at my pleasure. I need not female counsel, nor will I see or speak to thee more!"* With these words he arose, and was leaving the apartment in a rage. The *midai*, followed, and detaining him by his sleeve, persisted with humble urgency. "Yet bethink you my sovereign lord. Reflect, I implore

* Whether this lady's high birth would have saved her from divorce or not, is not said. This threat might imply only neglect.

you, that should you execute this baneful resolution, to-morrow's sun may see all Japan in rebellion." The *siogoun* was inflexible; her expostulations, gentle and submissive as they were, serving only to exasperate his resentment. The heaven-descended lady, finding argument and solicitation fruitless of otherwise averting the impending disaster, suddenly plunged her dagger into his breast, and, withdrawing it, repeated the blow. Her aim was true; the monarch fell, and his consort, sinking on her knees by his side, implored his pardon for having in an emergency so critical, employed the only possible means left of securing the throne to the Gongen dynasty. She concluded with an assurance that she dreamed not of surviving him. The moment the *siogoun* Tsunayosi had breathed his last, she stabbed herself with the same dagger, and fell lifeless upon his corpse. Her ladies, hearing the noise of her fall, ran in and found both weltering in their blood.

At this moment appeared Ino Kamon, who, startled by the purport of the empress's billet, had flown to the place. He was instantly admitted to the chamber of death, and stood confounded at the fearful spectacle it presented. After a while, recovering himself, he exclaimed, "Lo! a woman has saved the empire! But for her bold deed, Japan would to-morrow have been convulsed, perhaps destroyed!"

The self-slain princess had not it seems, thought it sufficient thus effectually to prevent the *siogoun* from executing his illegal design: she had further given Ino Kamon, in her note, precise instructions as to the course he was to pursue. By obeying them, the minister secured the accession of the lawful heir, and alleviated the disappointment of the youth whom Tsunayosi had intended to adopt, by obtaining a principality for him from Yeyenobu, the monarch he had been intended to supplant. Ino Kamon's own services were recompensed by the new and grateful *siogoun*, who rendered the office of governor of the empire hereditary in his family; and the *midai* is said to divide the admiration of Japan with the wife of Chuya.

In a subsequent reign, that of Yosimune, the following incident occurred.* He reigned thirty years, and from Titsingh's account, would appear to have been elected *siogoun*, after the death of the preceding, who was a mere boy.

One of the inferior servants of the siogoun, named Iwaso Gozo, had a daughter, who was constantly ill; he took her to the hot baths, in hopes of reëstablishing her health. He had been there three weeks, when three men belonging to the retinue of the prince of Satsuma came to see him, and requested him to lend them ten *kobun*, promising to repay him at Yedo. Gozo declined, alleging that he was poor, and his daughter's illness very expensive, and expressing his regret that it was not in his power to accommodate them. They appeared to be satisfied with his excuses; and as he was to set off the next day, they invited him to supper, purposing to detain and make him drunk with *sake*. Gozo, having no suspicion of their design, accepted the invitation, and after supper, finding that it was late, he returned thanks, and begged permission to retire, that he might take a little rest before his departure. Next morning, very early, he set out, but had scarcely proceeded three miles, when, on examining his sabre, which seemed heavier than usual, he discovered that it was not his own. He immediately returned, went to the persons with whom he had supped the preceding night, and

* Titsingh, page 70.

delivering to them the sabre, begged pardon for having taken it away in a mistake. Instead of accepting his excuses, they replied, that this was an affair which could not be so lightly passed over; that he could not have offered them a greater affront than in exchanging his sabre for one of theirs; and that they would be dishonored, if it were known at Yedo that they had not taken a signal revenge for it. They, therefore, declared, that he must fight them, and urged him to fix the time and place for the combat. Gozo complained of their injustice; reminded them that he had with him a sick daughter, who would be left destitute if he were to perish by their hands; and again intreated them to pardon him, assuring them that his daughter and himself would never cease to bear their kindness in grateful remembrance. All his remonstrances were fruitless. Finding, therefore, that he could not appease them, he was compelled to accept the challenge, and agreed to meet them the following day.

Gozo, on leaving them, reflected on his situation, which was in reality terrible; for he had no other alternative than either to perish in the combat, or, if he vanquished his enemies, to die by his own hand. Such was the law established by the prince of Satsuma. In this dilemma, he called upon one of his friends, who was a servant of the prince of Mito, related to him what had happened, and begged that he would lend him a pike to equip him for opposing his antagonists. His friend not only gave him his pike, but assured him that he would accompany him as his second, and assist him if he saw him in danger.

Next day, Satsuma's three servants repaired to the field of battle, where they were met by Gozo. They were armed with long sabres, while he had nothing but his pike, which, however, he plied with such dexterity and success, that with the two first thrusts, he extended two of his adversaries at his feet: the third, apprehensive of sharing their fate, ran away. Gozo, after pursuing him for some time, but without being able to overtake him, because fear lent him wings, returned to the place of combat for the purpose of dispatching himself. At this moment his friend ran up, wrested his arms from him, and cheered him, by representing that justice was on his side, as he had been provoked in an unwarrantable manner, and obliged to defend himself. "I witnessed the combat," added he; "I will make my report of it, and be bail for you. Meanwhile, the best thing you can do is to lose no time in acquainting the governor of Yedo with what has happened."

The governor wrote, in consequence, to the prince of Satsuma, who soon afterwards returned for answer, that on inquiry he learned that the malefactors were not his subjects, but must have come from some other province. Gozo was in consequence set at liberty, and thus the affair terminated.

We may now turn to anecdotes less painful, illustrative of lighter parts of the Japanese character. The following will prove that, if an implacable vindictive spirit, over which time can exert no softening influence, be part of that character, at least it is not excited by petty provocations, and may likewise afford a specimen of the good-humor and love of drollery that mingle rather oddly with the national ferocity and passion for ceremony.

About the middle of the last century,* Fota Sagami no kami, a man of high reputation for learning and talent, was advanced to an eminent place in the council of state by the young *siogoun*, Yeye-sige, upon his accession. In the business

* Titsingh.

of administration, Fota Sagami fulfilled all the expectations to which his reputed ability had given birth; but he provoked great, if partial, animosity, by the inexorable severity with which he treated the officers of the old *siogoun*, who had abdicated, depriving them of the rewards their former master had bestowed upon them for their services.

The despoiled men, having vainly petitioned for redress, meditated revenge, but determined first to make an effort for the recovery of their lost wealth by intimidation. In pursuance of this scheme, a pumpkin, carved into the form of a human head, appeared one morning over the state counselor's door, with the following inscription attached to it: "This is the head of Fota Sagami no kami, cut off and set up here in recompense of his cruelty."

Fota Sagami's servants were enraged at the insult offered to their master, but yet more terrified at the idea of the fury they anticipated it would awake in him, and which they feared might in some measure fall upon themselves, as though their negligence had given the opportunity for so daring an outrage. Pale and trembling they presented themselves before him, and reported the ominous apparition of the pumpkin-head, with its inscription. The effect was far different from what they had expected. Fota Sagami's fancy was so tickled by hearing, whilst full of life and health, that his head was announced to be actually cut off and set up over his own door, that he laughed heartily at the joke; and, joining his colleagues in the council-chamber, related his vicarious decapitation in the person of a pumpkin. There, likewise, the jest excited bursts of laughter, amongst which, however, unbounded admiration was expressed of Fota Sagami no kami's fortitude. Whether the jesters were permitted again to enjoy the rewards assigned them by the *ex-siogoun*, does not appear.

Another incident of the same reign, at a later date, exhibits a Japanese view of good breeding, and mode of testing talent and character.* Oka Yechizen no kami, one of the governors of Yedo, was directed to seek out able men for the service of the *siogoun*, and amongst others, a skillful accountant. A person named Noda-bounsa was recommended to him as an able arithmetician, and in other respects well fitted for office. Oka Yechizen sent for Noda-bounsa, and when the master of the science of numbers presented himself, gravely asked him for the quotient of 100, divided by 2. The candidate for place as gravely took out his tablets, deliberately and regularly worked the sum, and then answered 50. "I now see that you are a man of discretion as well as an arithmetician," said the governor of Yedo, "and in every way fitted for the post you seek. Had you answered me off-hand, I should have conceived a bad opinion of your breeding. Such men as you it is that the *siogoun* wants, and the place is yours."

Yeye-sige did, indeed, want men of discretion about him, to supply his own deficiency, for he had by this time so completely destroyed his intellectual faculties by excesses of various kinds, as to reduce himself to idiotcy. To have plainly stated the fact, however, or to have applied to the monarch the appellation belonging to his mental disease, would have been treason. The wit of his subjects devised means of guiltlessly intimating his condition, by giving him the name of a herb that is said to cause temporary insanity, and Yeye-sige was surnamed *Ampontan*.†

* Titsingh.

† [The disposition to caricature and ridicule high officers is very common

An instance of the quick talent and ingenuity evinced by the least educated portion of the community, akin to this sort of wit, occurs in the history of the transactions at Dezima during the long administration of president Doeff; but, upon the occasion in question, these qualities were directed towards a more useful purpose than nicknaming a sovereign. An American ship, hired by the Dutch at Batavia to carry on their permitted trade with Japan, whilst the English cruizers rendered the service too hazardous for their own vessels, or for any but neutrals, as she set sail in the night, laden with her return cargo of copper and camphor, struck upon a rock, filled, and sunk. The crew got on shore in boats, and the problem that engrossed the attention alike of the American captain, the Dutch factory, and the constituted authorities at Nagasaki, was how to raise the vessel.

"The first idea* was to employ Japanese divers to fetch up the copper; but the influx of water had melted the camphor, and the suffocating effluvia thus disengaged cost two divers their lives. The attempt to lighten her was necessarily abandoned, and every effort to raise, without unloading her, had proved equally vain, when a simple fisherman, named Kiyemon, of the principality of Fizen, promised to effect it, provided his mere expenses were defrayed; if he failed, he asked nothing. People laughed at the man, who now, perhaps, for the first time in his life, ever saw an European ship; but he was not to be diverted from his purpose. He fastened on either side of the vessel under water fifteen or seventeen boats, such as those by which our ships are towed in, and connected them all with each other by props and stays. Then, when, a high spring-tide favored him, he came himself in a Japanese trading-vessel, which he similarly attached to the stern of the sunken ship, and at the moment the tide was at the highest, set every sail of every boat. Uprose the heavy-laden, deep-sunken merchantman, disengaged herself from the rock, and was towed by the active fishermen to the level strand, where she could be conveniently discharged and repaired. Kiyemon not only had his expenses repaid to him, but the prince of Fizen gave him permission to wear two swords, and to wear as his arms a Dutch hat and two Dutch tobacco-pipes!"

Without making any remark upon either the extraordinary coat-of-arms assigned to the fisherman, or the yet more extraordinary want of liberality evinced in the payment, or rather the apparent non-payment, of his successful exertions—for no hint is given that either the American captain, or the Dutch president made him any pecuniary recompense—it may be observed, that the permission to wear

among the Chinese, and we should infer from this instance, and from others related by different authors, that it is also common in Japan. One, more allied to a pun than anything else, we give, which was made on the present siogoun, Tenpo, by taking the elements of his title, and making a sentence out of it. The two characters 天保 *Ten po* are made into the following sentence: 一大人口木 *ichi daï shtono kuchi hōzo*, which means that "people's mouths are not well supplied" by the monarch. This was made of him in consequence of a famine that occurred about ten years ago, in 1831. The point of it is, that these five characters, when combined, make the imperial title; and their meaning when read is an imputation upon his want of goodness and carefulness, by which the people suffer from hunger. The last character does not mean *wood*, as it usually does in Chinese, but is the Japanese word *ho*, to nourish, which is written in this way.]

* Doeff.

two swords is a satisfactory proof that the line of demarcation between the different classes of society is not absolutely impassable.

Another Japanese fisherman seems to have displayed ingenuity equal perhaps to Kiyemon's, though in a less honorable and useful form, for the mere purpose of making money by his countrymen's passion for everything odd and strange.* He contrived to unite the upper half of a monkey to the lower half of a fish, so neatly, as to defy ordinary inspection. He then gave out that he had caught the creature alive in his net, but that it had died shortly after being taken out of the water; and he derived considerable pecuniary profit from his cunning in more ways than one. The exhibition of the sea-monster to Japanese curiosity paid well; but yet more productive was the assertion that the creature, having spoken during the few minutes it existed out of its native element, had predicted a certain number of years of wonderful fertility, and a fatal epidemic, the only remedy for which would be, possession of the marine prophet's likeness. The sale of these pictured mermaids was immense. Either this composite animal, or another, the offspring of the success of the first, was sold to the Dutch factory, and transmitted to Batavia, where it fell into the hands of a speculating American, who carried it to Europe, and there, in the years 1822–23, exhibited his purchase at every capital, to the admiration of the ignorant, the perplexity of the learned, and the filling of his own purse, as a real mermaid.

Ere closing this paper, let us for a moment recur to the Japanese Annals for a gratifying proof of the care with which justice is administered by the delegated representatives of the council of state; although even that care, it must be allowed, smacks somewhat of despotic power in the whole manner of the transaction. The mode of trial alone renders the story worthy of attention, especially considering the asserted success of the Japanese tribunals in eliciting the truth. The incident occurred at Ohosaka.

An usurer,† named Tomoya Kiugero, lost a sum of money, amounting to 500 *koban* (upwards of £650). As no stranger had been seen about his premises, suspicion fell upon his servants, and after considerable investigation, finally settled upon one of the number called Chudyets. No proof was found, and the man, in spite of cross-questioning, menaces, and cajolery, positively denied the crime imputed to him. Tomoya now repaired to the governor of Ohosaka, preferred his complaint, and demanded that Chudyets should be tried and punished. The governor, Matsura Kawatche no kami, who had been promoted to his post in consequence of his reputation for ability, wisdom, and virtue, sent for Chudyets, and examined him. The accused protested his innocence, and declared that torture itself should never compel him to confess a crime of which he was innocent. Matsura Kawatche now committed Chudyets to prison, sent for Tomoya and his other servants, told them the result of his inquiries, and asked what proof they had of the prisoner's guilt. They had none, but persisted nevertheless in their firm conviction that Chudyets was the thief, and Tomoya insisted upon his immediate execution. The governor asked if they would set their hands to this conviction of guilt, and demand of execution. They assented, and master and men, together with the master's relations, signed a paper to the following effect;—"Chudyets, servant to Tomoya Kiugero, has robbed his master of 500 *koban*. This we attest by these presents, and demand that he be punished with death, as a warning

* Fischer. † Titsingh. page 38.

to others. We, the kinsmen and servants of Tomoya Kiugero, in confirmation of this affix to it our signatures and seals. The second month of the first year Genboun (1736)." The governor, taking the paper, said to the complainant, "Now that I am relieved from all responsibility, I will order the head of Chudyets to be taken off. Are you so satisfied?" Tomoya replied that he was, returned his thanks, and withdrew his party.

Soon after, a robber, who was taken up for a different offense, and put to the torture, confessed, amongst other crimes, the theft of Tomoya's money. This discovery was communicated to Matsura Kawatche, who immediately sent for Tomoya, his relations and servants, laid before them the true thief's confession, and thus addressed them:—"Behold! you accused Chudyets without proof, attesting your accusation under your hands and seals. I, upon the strength of your assertion, have commanded the death of an innocent man. In expiation of this crime, you, your wife, kindred, and servants, must all lose their heads; and I, for not having investigated the business with sufficient care, shall rip myself up." At these dreadful words, Tomoya and his friends were overwhelmed with despair. They wept and bemoaned their sad fate, and implored mercy, whilst the magistrates and officers present united in praying for some mitigation of so terrible a sentence. But the governor remained sternly inflexible.

When this scene of agony had lasted a considerable time, Matsura Kawatche suffered his features to relax into a milder expression, and said, "Be comforted; Chudyets lives. His answers convinced me of his innocence, and I have kept him concealed in the hope that the truth would come to light." He then ordered Chudyets to be introduced, and proceeded thus:—"Tomoya, your false accusation has caused this innocent man to suffer imprisonment, and nearly cost him his life. As this irremediable misfortune has been happily averted, your lives shall be spared; but as some compensation for what he has undergone, you shall give him 500 *koban*, and treat him henceforth as a faithful servant. Let the pangs you have this day experienced be graven on all your minds, as a warning how you again bring forward accusations upon insufficient grounds."

This decision of Matsura Kawatche's gave universal satisfaction, and in testimony of the *siogoun's* approbation, he was soon afterwards promoted to the more important and lucrative government of Nagasaki.

ART. III. *Sketch of Teën Fe, or Matsoo Po, the goddess of Chinese seamen.* Translated from the Sow Shin Ke.[1] By J. L. S.

FE's surname was Lin. She formerly dwelt in the department of Hinghwa, and district of Ninghae, being the present Pooteën heën,[2] about eighty *le* from the sea-board, in the village of Mechow. Her mother, whose family name was Chin, dreamed that she saw the goddess Kwanyin[3] of the southern ocean, who presented her a fig flower which she swallowed. This done a pregnancy of fourteen

months ensued, at the end of which period she gave birth to the goddess Fe. Her birth took place in the first year, third month, and twenty-first day of the reign of Teënkwan of the Tang dynasty. At the time of this birth a wonderful fragrance was perceptible for a mile around, and at the end of ten days it was not dispersed. In her infancy her intelligence was extraordinary. During her first year, while she was carried in the *keäng paou*,[4] when beholding any of the gods she folded her hands, and manifested desires to do them reverence. At the age of five she could recite the sacred books of Kwanyin; and at eleven she was able with gravity to attend upon the feasts and music of the gods.

Now Fe concealed her sacred proceedings, thus rendering them obscure to vulgar eyes. She would attend to her toilet, but would speak but little. She had four brothers, who in their mercantile pursuits proceeded backward and forwards among the islands of the sea. Upon a certain day while Fe was busily engaged, all her energies were suddenly paralized, and closed were her eyes for a time. Her father and mother perceiving that a great storm had arisen called out for her. Fe, upon awaking, sighed and said, why did you not allow me to assist my brothers that there might have been no misfortune? To her father and mother her meaning was inexplicable, nor did they make any further inquiries of her. Her brothers having gained a competency and returned, they, weeping, said, three days ago a mighty gale of wind arose, the waves reached the heavens, and we brethren being each in different vessels, our oldest brother's vessel was driven by the storm beneath the surge. Each one of them declared that during the prevalence of the gale they beheld a female child leading the vessels along, and proceeding over the waves as if upon level ground. The parents now at once perceived that when formerly Fe had closed her eyes, her spirit had gone to the rescue of her brothers. The eldest brother was not saved, owing to Fe's being too hastily aroused, and the spirit therefore could not achieve his deliverance, which caused the parents unceasing regret. When Fe became of sufficient age to wear the hair-pin,[5] she made oath that she would not become the bride of any man, nor did her parents presume to force her to marry. She did not remain long with them, for suddenly while sitting in a grave dignified posture her spirit passed away. Again the fragrance was perceptible for several miles around, just the same as upon the day of her birth. At first her spirit was frequently observed, and in aftertimes there have been many who have seen her. These persons who saw her, supposing her to be an

attendant upon the mother of Sewang,[6] said she thoroughly understands the superintendency of posterity.

A whole city publicly worshiped her, and in that city there was a certain woman who had been ten years married but had no son. She traveled into various regions to worship the gods, but in the end received no favorable response. At last she paid her adorations to Fe, and then she became the mother of sons. Thus all who have no sons let them forthwith come and worship Fe, and at once will their prayers be answered.

During the Sung dynasty Yuenteĭh and Le Foo were followers of the imperial messengers, who were dispatched to the country of Corea, and as they were proceeding by the village of Mechow, a mighty wind arose, and when their vessel was about to be engulfed, bright clouds of variegated beauty suddenly appeared, and they saw a person ascending the mast, and then proceeding round and taking hold of the helm. This person's strength being exerted for a long time, they were at length enabled to cross over the sea. The above honorable officers made inquiries about the matter of the people of the boats. Their followers Yuenteĭh and Le Foo both placing themselves in respectful attitudes towards the south, and thankfully worshiping said, now as we have the golden paper and ruby book,[7] we have therefore verily escaped being devoured by the monsters of the deep. His majesty diffuses rain and dew throughout the various regions of foreign lands, and his aid is afforded to his embassadors who do not disregard his commands. The gods lend their assistance, and specially are we assisted by the soul of Fe. These gentlemen remembered this, and on their return represented it to the court, and it was royally declared that she was a divine personage. A temple was erected for her in Mechow, at which a hundred families maintained their worship, and they carved images of wood for the use of vessels.

At the beginning of our country, in the seventh year of the reign of Ching Tsoowan, an imperial officer named Tsangwo, was deputed to the south-western barbarians. He worshiped at the shrine of Fe, and obtained a favorable response, as those did in the time of Sung, so he returned, and made the matter known to the court, and she was proclaimed the safeguard of the nation, the assister of the people, the excelling spiritual essence, the illustrious answerer of prayer, of enlarged benevolence, affording universal aid, THE CELESTIAL FE! Those who worship her are to be found throughout the empire.

Fe when living obtained the essence of highest spirituality, and cherished the perspicuity of the divine excellence, and dying she

controls posterity. Thus men are not deficient in progeny. She rules the seas, and their waters therefore cannot become billows. She creates happiness, and largely bestows it upon men. I, having examined the historical annals of the district of Hinghwa (Fe's native region), and uniting the traditions of the people with the recorded tablets, have herewith drawn up this abridgement, and thus submit the information.

1. The 搜神記 *Sow Shin Ke,* or Record of Researches concerning the Gods, are comprised in 3 octavo vols., and was compiled during the Ming, the last Chinese dynasty. The compiler's name is not attached to the edition which we have translated from, nor are any dates affixed. The work contains brief sketches of one hundred and eighty-one popular Chinese deities, and a pretty good idea is given of what the natives themselves regard as the origin of their idols, and an enlightened mind will perceive how debased must be a people who worship as divine, objects whose history according to their own accounts, is enveloped in such unreasonable and superstitious fancy. There are other different traditions of Matsoo Po besides the notice found in the Sow Shin Ke. Mr. Medhurst has written a Christian tract entitled the "Birthday of Matsoo Po," which well exposes the absurdity of the history and worship of the idol.

2. Pooteën heën is in the province of Fuhkeën, and hence the Fuhkeën seamen are more attached to Fe than any other class of seafaring men.

3. Kwanyin is the Chinese goddess of mercy, and is a very popular idol. A sketch of her history is also contained in the Sow Shin Ke.

4. The *keäng paou* is a cloth by means of which small children are carried upon the backs of their mothers and nurses. It has four bands attached to it, one of which goes over each shoulder, and two around the waist of the nurse, and are tied upon the breast. The cloth is sometimes of various colors, and highly wrought with ornamental figures.

5. That is became of a marriageable state. Young ladies do not put up their hair with pins, but allow it to hang down until they are about to be married.

6. Se wang is the superintendent of the female genii, as Tung wang kung is of the male genii.

7. The golden paper and ruby book have reference to the dispatches of the great emperor.

ART. IV. *The emperor Taoukwang: his succession to the throne of his father, coronation, with notices of his character and government.*

WHEN the destinies of an empire so vast and populous as the Chinese, are swayed by *one man*, we naturally wish to know something of the history and character of such a monarch. At the present time, this wish is strengthened by an expectation that his imperial majesty is about to change (or to have changed) his relations with the other potentates of the earth, with whom he is to *fellowship* as brothers,

cousins, &c. Hitherto men from afar, albeit richly imbued with his great favors, have known, or had the means of knowing, but little of the 'son of heaven.' Once we saw what was said to be a portrait of his august person; and once we had in our possession an autograph, written with the vermilion pencil. A great many and very diverse sayings, touching the character and conduct of H. I. M. we have heard first and last; but having failed to write them in a book at the time, we dare not now trust to memory for a portraiture of one whose person and character are so sacred as his majesty's are. Could we borrow the note-books of certain historiographers, then perhaps a faithful and full picture might be given. But being without these ample materials, we hope our readers will not be displeased with the few fragments we have been able here and there to collect. We subjoin three state papers, to which we add a few explanations and some brief notices.

No. 1.

The chamber of ministers (Nuy Kŏ) has received with due respect the following imperial edict:

"From the late emperor, who has now gone the great journey, I received the utmost possible kindness and care; and from him I derived my being; his gracious kindness was infinite, like that of the glorious heavens above. Although his benevolent life had been continued more than six decades of years, his celestial person was still robust, and his energy and spirits undiminished. I, the emperor, who continually waited on him in the palace, desired his days to be protracted, and hoped he would reach his hundredth year. This year, on a tour, he was to solace with his presence Lwangyang, in Tartary, and I, the emperor, followed in his train. His sacred person was on the journey as strong as usual, till he happened to be affected by very hot weather; however, he still ascended his chair without weariness; but finally he became ill, and after three days, a great encroachment on life was apparent. I, the emperor, beat the ground with my head, and called on heaven to bring him back—but, in vain! With reverence I meditate on his late majesty's reign during twenty-five years,—how effectually he suppressed banditti and rebellion, and gave tranquillity to millions of common people. Night and day he diligently labored; and never idled away a single day. His official servants, and the black-haired race, all looked up gratefully to his benevolent rule, under which they enjoyed the happiness of a glorious tranquillity. Now, when but a few days of his tour had elapsed, the great event has occurred; the dragon on horseback has ascended and become a guest on high. All creatures, endued with blood and breath, mourn with grateful feelings, proceeding from the most perfect sincerity; and how much more deeply do I, the emperor, feel; and how much more durable will be my grief, who have received such vast benefits, ten thousand times re-

peated! I received his late majesty's last will, commanding that the funeral mourning should be the same as formerly. That in twenty-seven days I should put off deep mourning, is what my heart submits to with difficulty; but I yield obedience to ancient rules, and will reverently wear mourning for three years; and shall thereby, in some small degree, manifest the affectionate grief which I feel. Let the governmental officers and people, throughout the empire, observe the former laws for national mourning. The kings and great officers of state are hereby ordered to assemble to deliberate and report to the emperor. Respect this."

Copies of this paper were circulated in Canton early in Oct., 1820. Doubts were then entertained of its authenticity, the document being, contrary to what is usual on such occasions, without the names of the ministry or any titles for the emperor, excepting only his *kwŏ haou*, or 'national designation,' which was 元徽 Yuenhwuy, meaning "an original assemblage of natural beauties." (See the Indo-Chinese Gleaner, for January and February, 1821, from which we borrow these papers.) This first one purported to have been issued on the 9th of September, six days after the demise of Keäking, which occurred on the 2d. On the 20th of October, the governor of Canton received a dispatch from the Board of Rites, ordering him "to close the seals of office on the 20th of the 12th month of the 25th year of Keäking, and to open them on the 19th of the 1st month of the *first* year of 道光 *Taoukwang*," which, instead of *Yuenhwuy*, was to be the national designation, or imperial title of the new emperor. Dr. Morrison, commenting on this title says, "the meaning of the *taou*, is similar to the 'eternal reason' of some European writers, the 'ratio' of the Latins, and the λογος of the Greeks; in a political sense, the Chinese use it for a perfectly good government, where reason, not passion, dictates its acts: *kwang* means light, lustre, glory, illustrious, and so on. The new imperial title of Taoukwang may be rendered by the two words, '*reason illustrious*,' by which the monarch wishes to intimate that his reign shall be 'the glorious age of reason' in China, that he will rule gloriously, according to the pure dictates of eternal reason." Dr. Morrison further adds, referring to this first paper, and the title *Yuenhwuy* therein assumed, "Whether it be supposed that the people dared to print and hand about a spurious imperial proclamation, or that the emperor and his advisers changed their minds on the subject of the title, the preceding appears very strange."

The second of the three papers is called *he chaou*, or 'joyful proclamation,' and was thus prefaced: "On the 17th of the 8th month (September 23d, 1820), the great emperor, who has received from

heaven and revolving nature, the government of the world, issued the following proclamation."

No. 2.

"Our Ta Tsing dynasty has received the most substantial indications of heaven's kind care. Our ancestors, Taetsoo and Taetsung, began to lay the vast foundation (of our empire); and Shetsoo became the sole monarch of China. Our sacred ancestor Kanghe, the emperor Yungching the glory of his age, and Keënlung the eminent in honor, all abounded in virtue, were divine in martial prowess, consolidated the glory of the empire, and moulded the whole to peaceful harmony.

"His late majesty, who has now gone the great journey, governed all under heaven's canopy twenty-five years, exercising the utmost caution and industry. Nor evening nor morning was he ever idle. He assiduously aimed at the best possible rule, and hence his government was excellent and illustrious; the court and the country felt the deepest reverence, and the stillness of profound awe. A benevolent heart and a benevolent administration were universally diffused; in China proper, as well as beyond it, order and tranquillity prevailed, and the tens of thousands of common people were all happy. But in the midst of a hope that this glorious reign would be long protracted, and the help of heaven would be received many days, unexpectedly, on descending to bless, by his majesty's presence, Lwanyang, the dragon charioteer (the holy emperor) became a guest on high.

"My sacred and indulgent father had, in the year that he began to rule alone, silently settled that the divine utensil (the throne,) should devolve on my contemptible person. I, knowing the feebleness of my virtue, at first felt much afraid I should not be competent to the office; but on reflecting that the sages, my ancestors, have left to posterity their plans; that his late majesty has laid the duty on me—and heaven's throne should not be long vacant—I have done violence to my feelings, and forced myself to intermit awhile my heartfelt grief, that I may with reverence obey the unalterable decree; and on the 27th of the 8th moon (October 3d), I purpose devoutly to announce the event to heaven, to earth, to my ancestors, and to the gods of the land and of the grain, and shall then sit down on the imperial throne. Let the next year be the first of Taoukwang.

"I look upwards and hope to be able to continue former excellencies. I lay my hand on my heart with feelings of respect and cautious awe.—When a new monarch addresses himself to the empire, he ought to confer benefits on his kindred, and extensively bestow gracious favors: whatever is proper to be done on this occasion is stated below.

"First. On all persons at court, and those also who are at a distance from it, having the title of *wang* (a king) and downwards; and on those of, or above the rank of a *kung* (a duke), let gracious gifts be conferred.

"Second. On all the nobles below the rank of *kung*, down to that of *kih-kih*, let gracious gifts be conferred.

"Third. Whether at court, or abroad in the provinces, Mantchou and Chinese officers, great and small, civil and military, shall all be promoted one step.

"Fourth. Those officers, whose deceased parents have received posthumous titles of honor, shall have those titles increased, to correspond with the promotion of their sons.

"Fifth. Officers at court of the fourth degree of rank, and in the provinces those of the third, shall have the privilege of sending one son to the national college (Kwŏ-tsze-keën).

"Sixth. Officers who have been deprived of their rank, but retained in office, and whose pay has been stopped or forfeited, shall have their rank and pay restored.

"Seventh. Let the number of candidates to be accepted at the literary examinations, in each province, be increased from ten to thirty persons.

"Eighth. Let the required time of residence in the national college be diminished one month on this occasion.

"Ninth. Let all the graduates of the degree of A M. be permitted, as a mark of honor, to wear a button of the sixth degree of rank.

"Tenth. Let officers be dispatched to sacrifice at the tombs of departed emperors and kings, of every past dynasty; at the grave of Confucius, and at the five great mountains, and the four great rivers of China.

"Eleventh. Excepting rebels, murderers, and other unpardonable offenders, let all those who may have committed crimes before daybreak of the 27th of the 8th moon (the day of ascending the throne) be forgiven. If any person again accuse them with the crimes already forgiven, punish the accuser according to the crime alleged.

"Twelfth. All convicts in the several provinces who have been transported for crimes committed, but who have conducted themselves quietly for a given time, shall be permitted to return to their homes.

"Thirteenth. Tartars under the different banners, and persons of the imperial household convicted of the embezzlement of property, and punished by forfeits, if it can be proved that they really possess no property, let them be all forgiven.

"Fourteenth. Let all officers of government whose sons or grandsons were charged with fines or forfeits on account of their father's crimes, be forgiven.

"Fifteenth. Let officers and privates in the Tartar army, to whom government may have advanced money, not be required to repay it.

"Sixteenth. Let all old soldiers of the Tartar and Chinese armies, who have seen service, and are now invalided, have their cases examined into, and have some favor conferred on them in addition to the legal compassion they already receive.

"Seventeenth. Let there be an inquiry made in all the provinces, for those families in which there are alive five generations; and for those persons who have seen seven generations; and rewards be conferred in addition to the usual honorary tablet conferred by law.

"Eighteenth. Agriculture is of the first importance to the empire—let the officers of government everywhere, and always, laud those who are diligent in ploughing and sowing.

"Nineteenth. Old men have in every age been treated with great respect; let a report be made of all above seventy, both of Tartars and Chinese, with the exception of domestic slaves, and people who already possess rank.

"Twentieth. Let one month's pay be given to certain of the Mantchou and Mongolian Tartar soldiers, and also to the Chinese troops who joined the Tartar standard at the conquest.

"Twenty-first. Let men who belonged to the Tartar army, and who are now above seventy years of age, have a man allowed to attend upon them, and excuse them from all service. To those above eighty, give a piece of silk, a catty of cotton, a shih measure of rice; and ten catties of flesh meat; and to those above ninety, double these largesses.

"Twenty-second. Let all overseers of asylums for widows and orphans, and sick people, be always attentive, and prevent any one being destitute.

"Lo! now, on succeeding to the throne, I shall exercise myself to give repose to the millions of my people.—Assist me to sustain the burden laid on my shoulders! With veneration I receive charge of heaven's great concerns.—Ye kings and statesmen, great and small, civil and military, every one be faithful and devoted, and aid in supporting the vast affair; that our family dominion may be preserved hundreds and tens of thousands of years, in never ending tranquillity and glory! Promulge this to all under heaven—cause every one to hear it!"

The following paper was issued previously to the august ceremony to which it relates, which took place on the 27th of the 8th month, and was called *tăng kĕih*, 'ascending the summit,' meaning evidently the summit of power, honor and glory. There does not seem to have been literally any coronation or putting on of a crown; the term, however, is a fair equivalent for the ascension act.

No. 3.

"The members of the Board of Rites beg respectfully to state the usual ceremonies observed at the ascension of the emperors. On the day appointed for the ceremony, the commander of the foot-guards shall lead in the troops to take their station at the several gates of the imperial city. The members of the Board of Rites, and of the Hung-loo office, shall assemble in the imperial Council Chamber, and set the seal-table (on which the imperial seal is to be placed) in the palace of Peace, to the south of the imperial throne, and exactly in the middle. Let them set the report-table (on which the petition, requesting his majesty to ascend the throne, is to be laid) on the south side of the eastern pillar of the palace; the edict-table (on which is to be placed the imperial proclamation, announcing the accession,) on the north side of the eastern pillar. Let the writing-table (on which the pencil and ink, used on the occasion, are to lie) be set on the right or left of the western pillar; and the yellow-table (from which the proclamation is to be promulged) on the red steps, (or elevation at the foot of the throne, where ministers advance to pay

their obeisance,) exactly in the middle. The imperial guards, both officers and men, shall then enter, and set forth, in order, the imperial traveling equipage, in front of the palace of Peace. They shall next make ready his majesty's foot-chariot, (i. e. one usually drawn by men) without the palace gate. The five (ancient) imperial carriages shall then be set forth without the Woo gate. The docile elephants shall be placed to the south of the five carriages. Let them draw up the imperial horse-guards, on the right and left of the middle path of the vestibule, fronting each other, east and west. Let the imperial canopy and cloud-capt basin (in which the imperial proclamation, announcing the emperor's ascension, is placed) be set within the vestibule. After this, the members of the Board of Music shall arrange the ancient musical instruments, used by Shun, to the east and west, on the palace causeway; and the musical instruments, used on state occasions, they shall set in order within the palace. These shall be thus placed, but not (for the present) used. —Next, the musical instruments, used at the arrival and departure of his majesty, together with the dragon-dome, and the incense-dome, (i. e. a kind of portable shed, or portico) shall be set forth without the Woo gate. The officers of the Board of Public Works shall place the golden phœnix at the gate of Celestial Repose, directly in the middle; and set the stage, from which the proclamation is to be made, in the first chamber, on the eastern side of the gate. The second officer of the Board of Rites, having ready the petition, (requesting the emperor to ascend the throne) shall take it, reverently, in both his hands, and place it on the petition-table, already set on the southern side of the eastern pillar. One of the officers of the Council Chamber, taking the proclamation, to be subsequently issued, in both his hands, shall place it on the edict-table, standing to the north of the eastern pillar. One of the secretaries of the Council Chamber shall, in the same manner, take the pencil and ink-stone, and put them on the table, on the western side of the palace.

"The prime minister shall then lead forth the members of the Council Chamber to the gate of Celestial Purity (i. e. his majesty's private apartments), and beg for the imperial seal. One of the members shall receive it with profound reverence, and the prime minister shall follow him from the gate of Celestial Purity to the palace of Peace, where it shall be laid on the seal-table, which is in the middle of the hall, on the south of the imperial throne; after which they shall retire. Then the officers of the Hung-loo office, shall bring up the kings and nobles of the imperial kindred, from the highest down to those of the eighth rank, on the elevation at the foot of the throne. Then the great officers of state, civil and military, all in their court dresses, shall range themselves in order according to their rank, within the vestibule.

"At the appointed hour, the president of the Board of Rites shall go and intreat his majesty to put on his mournings, and come forth by the gate of the eastern palace, and enter at the left door of the middle palace, where his majesty, before the altar of his deceased

imperial father, will respectfully announce, that he receives the decree—kneel thrice, and bow nine times.

"This finished, the emperor will then go out by the eastern door, into the side palace. The president of the Board of Rites shall issue orders to the governor of the palace, officers of the imperial guard, and the chief ministers of the interior, to go and solicit his majesty to put on his imperial robes, and proceed to the palace of his mother, the empress-dowager, to pay his respects. The empress-dowager will put on her court robes, and ascend her throne; before which his majesty shall kneel thrice, and bow nine times. After the performance of this ceremony, the governors of the palace shall let down the curtain before the door of the emperor's private apartments, and the officers of the interior imperial guards shall have in readiness the golden chariot, directly in the middle, in front of the door of the imperial residence The president of the Board of Rites shall then bring forward the officer of the Astronomical Board whose business is to *observe times*, to the gate of his majesty's residence, to announce the arrival of the chosen and felicitous moment. His majesty will then go out by the left door of his apartments, and mount the golden chariot. The president of the Board of Rites, together with ten of the great officers of the same Board, shall take their stations in front of the imperial chariot, to lead on the procession. Two officers of the personal guard shall walk behind. Ten chief officers of the leopard-tail legion of guards, holding spears (perhaps muskets), and ten bearing swords, shall form the wings of the personal guard. The procession shall then move in order, to the palace of Protection and Peace, where his majesty will descend from the chariot. Here the president of the Board of Rites shall solicit his majesty to sit down in the royal middle palace.

"Then the president of the Hung-loo office shall lead forward the great officers of the interior, the officers of the imperial guard, of the Council Camber, of the National Institute, of the *Chin-sze* office, of the *Ke-keu* office, of the Board of Rites, and of the Censorate, arranging them, in front and rear, according to their rank. He shall then call upon them to kneel thrice, and bow nine times.

"This ceremony over, the president of the Board of Rites stepping forward, shall kneel down, and beseech his majesty, saying, 'Ascend the imperial throne.'—The emperor shall then rise from his seat, and the procession moving on, in the same order as above described, to the imperial palace of Peace, his majesty shall ascend the seat of gems, and sit down on the imperial throne, with his face to the south. At the Woo gate the bells shall then be rung, and the drums beaten; but no other instruments of music shall be sounded. The chief officer of the imperial guards shall say aloud, 'strike the whip' (a brazen rod called by this name). The whip shall accordingly be struck below the throne. The master of the ceremonies shall command the attendant ministers to arrange themselves in ranks. The president of the Hung-loo office shall bring up the kings and dukes on the elevation, at the foot of the throne; and the master

of the ceremonies shall lead forward the civil and military officers, and range them in due order within the vestibule. He shall say—'advance;' they shall accordingly advance. He shall say—'kneel;' then the kings, and all the ranks downward, shall kneel. When he says—'bow your heads to the ground,'—and, 'rise,'—then the kings, and downward, shall kneel thrice, bow the head to the ground nine times, and rise accordingly. When he says—'retire,' the kings, and downward, shall all retire, and stand in their former places.

"Then the prime minister, entering by the left door of the palace, shall go to the table, and taking the proclamation in both his hands, shall place it on the middle table; after which he shall retire for a moment, and stand with his face to the west. The president of the Council Chamber, advancing to the middle table, with his face to the north, shall seal the proclamation, and retire. The president of the Board of Rites shall then approach near; and the prime minister, taking the proclamation in both hands, shall walk out with it by the imperial door of the palace of Peace, and deliver it to the president of the Board of Rites, who shall kneel and receive it. After rising, he shall carry it to the table, in the middle of the elevation, below the throne, and lay it thereon, with profound reverence—shall kneel once, and bow to the ground three times. Next, he shall kneel and take up the proclamation in both hands—shall rise, and descend by the middle steps. The president of the Board of Rites, kneeling, shall take up with both hands the cloud-capt basin, into which he shall receive the proclamation, and then rise. The officers of the imperial guard shall spread out the yellow canopy (or umbrella) over the said basin, and go out with it by the middle door of the palace of Peace. The civil and military officers shall follow out by the gate of Resplendent Virtue, and the gate of Virgin Felicity. The chief officer of the guard shall then say—'strike the brazen whip;' it shall accordingly be struck thrice, below the steps.

"His majesty shall then rise, step to the back of the palace, mount his chariot, and go forth by the left door, to the outside of the door of his private apartments, where he shall descend from the chariot; and, entering the side palace, by the left door, shall change his robes, and return to the mat (where the funeral obsequies are performed). The prime minister shall lead forward the presidents, who shall reverently take the imperial seal, and deliver it at the door of the imperial residence, to one of the great officers of the interior.

"At this time the proclamation-bearer, taking the document in both his hands, shall proceed to the outside of the Woo gate, and place it in the dragon-dome—shall kneel once, and bow to the ground thrice. Then the officers of the guard, and sword bearers, shall carry forward the domes, in the following order:—the incense-dome in front, and the dragon-dome behind. The officers of the Board of Music shall lead on the procession, immediately behind the imperial insignia, but shall not play (the national mourning forbidding this). One of the judges of the Board of Rites shall then ascend to the tower on the wall, opposite the gate of Celestial Repose, and they shall set

down the incense-dome; the proclamation being placed there also, in the middle of the dragon-dome. The proclamation-bearer shall then kneel once, and bow to the ground thrice; after which, taking the proclamation in both hands, he shall lay it on the yellow-table, which is placed on a high stage. The dragon and incense-domes shall be removed, and set down directly in front of the gate of Celestial Repose. The officers, civil and military, shall arrange themselves at the southern end of the golden bridge. The master of the ceremonies shall say—'form ranks;'—also, 'enter.' The officers, civil and military, shall accordingly form ranks, and the venerable elders of the people, a little behind, shall form themselves into two files;—and all stand facing the north. The herald-minister shall then ascend the stage. The master of the ceremonies shall say—'an edict!' Then all shall instantly fall on their knees. The herald shall next read the proclamation, in the Chinese language, after which he retires to the table. The words 'bow' and 'rise' being pronounced (by the master of the ceremonies), and answered by three genuflections and nine prostrations, from all present, the proclamation-bearer, taking the said document in both hands, shall place it again in the cloud-capt basin, and suspend it, by an ornamental cord, from the bill of the golden phœnix. The judge of the Board of Rites, receiving the same, shall set it again in the dragon-dome, and going out by the gate of Exalted Purity, the procession shall be led on as formerly, by the officers of the Board of Music, behind the imperial insignia, but without playing, to the office of the Board of Rites, where, an incense-table being placed, the president of the Board of Rites shall bring forward the judges, who shall kneel thrice, and bow to the ground nine times. These ceremonies all finished, let the proclamation be reverently printed, and promulgated throughout the empire. Such is our statement laid before your majesty."

"The imperial pleasure has been received thus: 'Act according to the statement. Respect this.'"

Shortly after the new emperor had assumed the reins of government, he issued another paper. It begins abruptly, and some of the first words of the original are probably wanting.

No. 4.

"Mine is not a vacant office. For a long period the whole empire received from the late emperor the most gracious beneficence; the utmost liberality in times of distress; and the most perfect admonition and correction. It sometimes happened that individuals willfully violated the laws; but when the time of signing death-warrants occurred, he examined the papers containing the cases of capital offenders with the utmost care; and if any way of saving them could be discovered, he exercised benevolence beyond the laws. All my people should be dutiful to their parents, respectful to superiors, ashamed of crime, and cherish a dread of punishment, to aid me in imitating his late majesty, who showed a love of the lives of others, such as heaven displays. Now, in consequence of all the kings, Tartar nobles, great statesmen, the civil and military officers, having said with one voice, 'Heav-

en's throne must not be long unoccupied, it is incumbent that, by the consent of the imperial manes, and the gods of the land, a sovereign do early assume his sway.' In consequence of their again and again remonstrating with me, I forced myself to yield to the general voice, and interrupting, for a short time, my keen sorrows—on the 3d day of the 8th month (September 9th, 1820), having announced the circumstance to heaven and to earth, and to the manes of my imperial ancestors, I sat down on the imperial throne. Let the next year be the first of the reign of Taoukwang.

"I look up reverently to the altars of the land and of the grain, and desire to receive, and to continue the will of my predecessors: and I profoundly hope that the imperial throne will remain eternally.

"Do all of you my relations behave as eminent worthies, you civil and military officers be unitedly faithful and devoted, and exert yourselves, that the dominion may be continued to an illimitable period, and that you may for ever enjoy the repose of a well regulated government.

"Proclaim this to the whole empire, and cause every one to know it."

From the several foregoing papers, the reader will be able to form an opinion respecting the character of the one man who now rules, as absolute monarch, the 360,000,000 of human beings inhabiting the Chinese empire. Whether the imperial title was or was not changed, there are in the history of his reign repeated instances of something very much like change. Repugnant as this idea may be to the mind of a true son of Han, changes there have been, and changes there will be. There are in this, as in all other human governments, imperfections with abuses of administration, which ought to be corrected. It augurs well, therefore, that there are changes and signs of changes. How have Turkey and Egypt changed their relations! And must not China and Japan likewise change? If illustrious reason, instead of brute force, is to have ascendency here, then well; and the changes, for the amelioration of the condition of the people, and the improvement of the state, shall be hailed with acclamations of joy.

It is not right to speak evil of dignities, and we forbear to repeat sundry idle tales which have been told derogatory to the character of his majesty. During the twenty years he has filled the throne, there has been a very tolerable degree of prosperity, though the present state of affairs is by no means flattering or pleasing to the imperial mind. But we will not dwell on this topic. Some noble and valorous acts are put to the credit of the emperor. In the 18th year of his illustrious father's reign, when a plot was formed to destroy the monarch and subvert the government, the young prince (though ignorant of his being the heir, the will of his father not having then been made

known,) with his own hand destroyed two of the rebels who were attempting to climb over the palace walls. This bold act caused the other rebels to fall back with terror, and thus the sacred abode was preserved in quiet. Judging from the protrait which we have seen, his majesty is tall, thin, and of a dark complexion. He is now sixty years of age, and apparently strong and robust. He is reputed to be "of a generous disposition, diligent, attentive to government, and economical in his expenditure." He is greatly revered by his subjects, and apparently much swayed by the counsels of his ministers, of whom some are very able men,—though we much fear as he says, "they know not what truth is." Of the emperor's present line of policy much remains to be said. It will be questioned and scanned as that of his predecessors never was. The old order of things is passing away, and now—

Magnus ab integro sêclorum nascitur ordo.

ART. V. *The Rebellion of the Yellow Caps, compiled from the History of the Three States.**

As the insurrection, that ended in that dismemberment of the Chinese empire which became the foundation of the popular *San Kwŏ Che*, or "History of the Three States," forms the subject of an interesting passage in the records of former times, we take the liberty of inserting, in the pages of the Repository, a short digest of the account of the rise and progress of the Yellow Caps to the death of their first leaders, as given in the first and second sections of that work.

The history of the Three States—Shŭh, Wei, and Woo—opens by dating the origin of those causes, which led to the division of the empire into three kingdoms, at the reigns of Hwan (A. D. 147) and Ling (A. D. 168), the immediate predecessors of Heuen, the last emperor of the Han dynasty. The historian finds occasion for the civil wars, that caused the downfall of that house and disjointed the whole empire, in the corrupt state of the government, which had shut up the avenues to preferment against the good and the wise, and admitted

* See volume seventh, number fifth, pp. 232-249, for a brief account of this work.

eunuchs,—that class of weak, low, and depraved courtiers,—into the councils of the state. It was the emperor Hwan who began this course of degeneracy, and the dire consequences of it were gradually evinced during the reign of his successor, more weak than himself. Soon after Ling had ascended the throne, signs most strange and alarming appeared in the heavens and on the earth, all portentous of some approaching calamity. The sagacious and patriotic of the princes knew full well the occasion of all this, and presumed to warn their sovereign of a crisis at hand. His own fears were to some degree excited, but they were speedily dispelled by the craft of the eunuchs, who induced their master to degrade those ministers, who had dared to remonstrate with imperial majesty. Finding that their opportunity had now come, the eunuchs formed themselves into a body of counselors, called the *shīh chang she*, or "the ten constant attendants," and, enjoying the emperor's implicit confidence, they took the reins of government into their own hands. Having thus briefly pointed out the causes of future calamities, the historian, like a patriot, sighs over the weaknesses of his sovereign and the misfortunes of his country, "Alas, my father! The imperial government waxed worse every day, until there was universal disaffection, and marauders rose up like wasps."

At this time, when the country had become disposed for change, a leader appeared in a family of the principality of Keuluh. In this family there were three brothers, whose surname was Chang. Chang Keŏ, the eldest of them, was chief in the insurrection, to which he had been incited by an interview with a singular personage, who gave himself out to be one of the mountain genii. This sage of Nanhwa called Chang Keŏ aside, and put a book into his hands, at the same time announcing that he was to be the "*liberator mundi*," and threatening the worst of evils, if he should decline his appointment. On this, the stranger vanished. Keŏ took the book and devoted himself to its study, till at length he gained superhuman power, and was able to control the elements of nature.

It happened, that in the eighteenth year of Ling's reign, and in the first month, a pestilence broke out, and raged furiously among the people. During that plague, Chang Keŏ rendered himself popular, in curing large numbers by the successful use of magical papers and charm-waters, and increased his own influence by sending forth, to every part of the country, men who had been inspired by him, with supernatural virtue to overcome the same distemper. In this way he gained the confidence of myriads, who were disposed by

him in various districts under regular leaders, and he only waited for a fit time when to carry his projects into execution.

Very shortly after, he gave out that the time had arrived, when the reigning family should cease and give place to another line of emperors; and he assured his countrymen that heaven would favor them, as a new cycle was just opening. Thus he won an immense body of the nation over to his side. To render the plot complete, he sent one of his trusty followers to form an alliance with one of the eunuchs, and, lest they should lose the present opportunity through delay, he dispatched a second confidant to apprize the intriguing party at court of the badge adopted by their allies, and of the day when they would rise; but the messenger, who had been intrusted with the final instructions, repented and discovered the scheme to the imperial cabinet.

This disclosure led to the immediate seizure and imprisonment of Fung Seu and his party, who formed the court cabal; and the imperial troops were ordered out to crush the first symptoms of insurrection.

When the rebel generals Chang Keŏ, Chang Paou, and Chang Leäng heard that their secrets had been betrayed, they took it as a sign for an instantaneous rise, and, assuming high sounding titles, they put forth a public manifesto, calling for the aid of their countrymen. They were at once joined by 400,000 or 500,000 men, who all wore yellow caps, in sign of their attachment to the new cause, from which circumstance this insurrection is generally designated in history, "the rebellion of the Yellow Caps." While the rebels were scattering themselves over the country, orders were issued by the emperor that every district should be in readiness to defend itself, and that three of his chung lang tseäng (high generals) should proceed with troops to subdue the Yellow Caps.

The first act of aggression, on the part of the malcontents, was in the district of Yew, the lieutenant of which immediately issued a proclamation for a general levy of troops.—This call brought forth the famous Lew Pe (Heuentĭh,) a descendant in the line of the Han family, who, it had been predicted by his relatives and comrades, would some day rise to eminence. It, at the same time, brought Heuentĭh in contact with the heroes Chang Fei and Kwan Yu, the result of which interview was that these three persons entered into a solemn covenant, to stand by each other in supporting the interests of the house of Han, and to keep the unity of mind and purpose inviolate.

Thus leagued, these heroes of the *San Kwŏ Che* sally forth to join the ranks of lieutenant Lew Yen, who gladly welcomed them.

His excellency, hearing in a few days that a party of the enemy was coming down upon one of his districts, gave orders to his officer Tsow Tsing, to proceed against them and avail himself of the assistance of Heuentĭh, whose comrades signalized themselves in the first onset, by killing—the one a colonel, the other the general of the rebel troops. On this, a large body of the enemy seeing themselves thus early deprived of some of their leaders, joined the imperial party; and the lieutenant of Yew conferred rewards on the victors.

But, on the day following the victory, he received a dispatch from the governor of Tsing department, to the effect that he was placed in imminent danger by the siege, which had been laid against him. His request, that auxiliaries should be sent to him, was forthwith granted; and in a very little time the siege was raised, chiefly through the stratagems of the three brothers.

Immediately on the distribution of rewards by the gov. of Tsing, Heuentĭh and his comrades separated themselves from the troops of Yew, to hasten to the relief of Loo Chĭh, (Heuentĭh's former tutor, and one of the chunglang tseäng already spoken of,) who was then engaged in contest with Chang Keŏ, the leader of the rebellion. On their reaching the scene of warfare, Loo Chĭh was much pleased with this mark of attachment in his late pupil, but directed him to proceed to the assistance of his colleagues Hwangfoo Sung and Choo Sun who were, in the Ying district, waging war against Chang Keŏ's brothers. While Heuentĭh was advancing towards Ying, the imperialists had routed the Yellow Caps,—who fled in all directions before the conquerors. At that instant, another hero of those times, 'Tsaou Tsaou, (called by a Spanish writer 'the Buonaparte of China,') made his appearance, to share in the glory and the spoils of the day.—This Tsaou Tsaou displayed early in life a roving and wily disposition, which it was impossible for his father or his uncle to curb. However, men perceived that he was qualified for the times, and foresaw his future eminence, at the prediction of which 'Tsaou Tsaou was not a little delighted.' At the age of twenty, he entered office, and conducted himself with strict impartiality, so that he became a terror to evil-doers. After a few minor promotions, he was made an officer of cavalry, and it was then he led forth a company to assist the imperial house.

Heuentĭh arrived only in season to congratulate the victors on the repulse of the enemy, and detailed his interview with his tutor Loo Chĭh, to whom the two chung lang tseäng directed the three brothers to return, as they felt persuaded the fugitives would immediate-

ly resort to Kwangtsung, where Chang Keo was besieged by Loo Chĭh. The brothers at once retraced their steps, but had proceeded only half the distance, when they met Loo Chĭh confined in a cage and guarded by a party of soldiers, who were conducting him to the capital. The captive explained that he had been maligned at court, and that, under the false representations of a crown officer, who had been sent down to extort money from him but had failed in his attempts, he had orders from the emperor to hasten to the capital for examination, and that meanwhile Tung Chŏ was appointed to superintend those hostilities against the chief Chang Keŏ, which had well nigh been closed, but for this unhappy interruption. Chang Fei, when he heard this account, got furious, and was on the point of cutting down the guards with his sword, when Heuentĭh quieted him by the irresistible argument that, as it was the emperor's will, nothing could be done in opposition to it. So Loo Chĭh was allowed to pass on to meet his doom.

At the advice of Kwan Yu, the sworn brothers resolved to return without delay, to their native district. But on their progress northward, they perceive, from the din of war, that conflicting parties are at hand. It is the imperial bands routed and put to flight by Chang Keŏ's overpowering numbers. Heuentĭh and his friends take a stand and, by a vigorous attack, beat the rebels back, and saved the honor of the throne. It was Tung Chŏ (Loo Chĭh's substitute,) who had been thus rescued by an unknown branch of the imperial house, but this general treated his deliverers only with disrespect, which the ever ardent Chang Fei could not brook, and he swore that nothing should appease him, short of the blood of the haughty and uncivil Tung Chŏ.

However, his brothers Heuentĭh and Kwan Yu successfully remonstrated with him; but, as it was their united opinion, that, rather than join the corps of such an officer, they should put themselves under the banner of Choo Sun one of his colleagues, they accordingly proceeded to enter his ranks, and were treated by him with all urbanity. As that general was engaged in an attack on the rebel Paou's forces, he took the faithful three with him. In this instance, Heuentĭh also signalized himself in a close combat with one of the enemy's colonels, whom he left dead on the field. A general engagement instantly ensued, when general Paou, by some magical art (which produced a storm of wind and thunder, and drew down a black cloud from heaven, in which appeared a countless host of matchless warriors,) drove his opponents back in fear and consternation.

But, on the next assault, Paou's juggle was not so successful, as it was rendered futile by the superior stratagem of Choo Sun. He, immediately after he found Paou having recourse to his magical powers, had arranged that a quantity of the blood of pigs, sheep, and dogs, should be collected and carried up to a neighboring height, and that, on the first appearance of the same phenomena which had occurred before, this should be poured down. When the assault was made, "Chang Paou acted the magician, there was a tremendous wind and thunder, the sand flew, and the stones ran (along the ground), a black cloud overcast the sky, and an immense number of men and horses fell from heaven." Heuentĭh turned his horse and hastily retreated, while Chang Paou pursued him, with all his men, as far as the rising ground, when the mixture was thrown down from its top, and then there could be seen "in the air, paper-men and grass-horses, falling in confusion to the ground. The wind and thunder ceased, nor did the sand and stones continue to fly about." Chang Paou, finding himself baffled in this attempt, was obliged to flee for his life, and, with difficulty reached one of his fortresses, where he shut himself up and his troops.

While Choo Sun was occupied in besieging Chang Paou, he heard that his colleague Hwangfoo Sung, had been appointed to take the place of Tung Chŏ, whose frequent losses had occasioned his degradation from office; that, when Hwangfoo entered upon his office, Chang Keŏ died, and was succeeded in command by his brother Chang Leäng; that Chang Leäng had been cut off by Hwang, for which achievement the emperor promoted him, and yielded to his intercessions in behalf of the defamed Loo Chĭh, whose misfortune has been noticed; and that Tsaou Tsaou also had been promoted in consideration of the services, he had lent in support of the imperial cause. Choo Sun, on hearing all this intelligence was stimulated to a simultaneous attack of the town, in which Chang Paou had taken shelter, and he brought the besieged to such a stress at length, that one of Paou's own officers beheaded his master and delivered up the city to the imperial general. Thus fell the first leaders of "the rebellion of the Yellow Caps." W. C.

Art. VI. *Illustrations of men and things in China: priest collecting paper; uses of blood; mode of cutting glass; a 'Chinaman.'*

Priest *collecting paper.*—I met a respectable looking Budhistic priest one day, perambulating the streets with two small baskets slung on his arm, on which were written the four characters 敬惜字紙 *king seĭh tsze che*, meaning, 'respect and pity paper having characters on it.' I asked him what he was doing; 'I am going about picking up all written paper,' said he, 'lest sacred names should be defiled.' His baskets, so far as I could see, held as much orange peel as paper; but I suppose he thought that all useful things coming in his way, were not to be passed by, any more than pieces of written paper. This respect for paper with characters on it is universal among the Chinese, and among this class of religionists it is deemed meritorious to go about and rescue all printed and written paper from defilement. The reader must not infer, however, that this is done gratuitously, for the priests collect money, from shopmen and others who write much, in order to pay themselves for picking up waste paper in the streets in their stead; thus making gain out of their reverence for holy characters.

Uses of blood.—The butcher receives the blood of the ox or hog into a tub, and after it coagulates, drains off the watery serum, and sends the rest to market. It is cooked in various ways by the people, both alone and combined with other viands. The blood of ducks, after coagulation, is warmed over a fire, and when the color has changed, and the mass become a little concrete, it is cut into cakes and exposed for sale lying in water; the purchaser adds salt and other condiments when he cooks it a second time. The blood of hogs and cattle is also extensively used as a paste. It is, after coagulation, thoroughly worked by squeezing it through a handful of straw, to separate the fibrine, and then simmered over a slow fire with the addition of a little lime. When made it is of a dingy-red color; it must be used soon, for it spoils in a day or two; the shopmen paper tea-chests, boxes of goods, &c., with this paste.

Mode of cutting glass.—The diamond and corundum are both employed by glaziers; they select the natural grains, or break them into fragments, and insert them in a pencil, so as to expose a corner; none of the lapidaries here can cut these gems. The

itinerating workmen who mend and clamp broken glass and china-ware, have one set into the point of their drill. But the corundum is far too expensive for a common workman, and he employs another method of trimming his pane of glass. He marks an ink-line where he wishes it to be divided, and then files a notch on the edge to commence: after this, he slowly follows up the line with a lighted joss-stick; the glass cracks pretty evenly after the fire, which is detained upon a spot until it splits; the edge of the pane is rather uneven, but the putty, says he, will hide all those defects.

A 'Chinaman.'—What a number of things there are to which we prefix the adjective *China* as a convenient mode of designating them! Porcelain and China are synonymous with many persons; a set of china, or chinaware, China silks, China sweetmeats, China root, China orange, China rose, are all sufficiently marked merely by the adjective; for ages have the productions of this country excited the commercial enterprise of other lands, so that the terms China ship, China merchant, and China cargo, in common life, designate a peculiar branch of commerce. But among all the odd things this country produces, a Chinaman himself is the oddest. Ever since the day when Milton sang

> 'Of Sericana, where Chineses drive,
> With sails and wind their cany wagons light,'

down to these matter-of-fact times of tea and Patna, a Chinese has remained an image of himself. He is, in truth, a curious specimen. Judge him by *our* standard, and he is to it a very antipodes, but weigh him in his own scales, he is of great gravity; try him by his own measure he is faultless. It is hard to say which of the two standards is the best for arriving at a fair decision. Next to the son of heaven, a true Chinese thinks himself to be the greatest man in the world; and China, beyond all comparison, to be the most civilized, the most learned, the most fruitful, the most ancient—in short, the best country under the starry canopy. It is useless te toll him to the contrary, for he will no more believe you than you do him; "If your country is so good, why do you come here after tea and rhubarb?" is a puzzler;—"If your people are so good why do you bring opium here to destroy us?" is unanswerable in his mind to prove his own goodness and our wickedness;—"We can do without you, but you cannot live without us," says he, to clinch them both; and when a Chinese is thus intrenched in his own wisdom, he is beyond persuasion.

If we examine some of the minuter shades of his character we

shall at once perceive that he was cast in a different mold from 'us barbarians;' and albeit the outlines of the two are alike, their finish is quite diverse. Let us glance at some of these lesser traits, as they are grouped in the following sketch:

"On inquiring of the boatman in which direction our port lay, I was answered west-north; and the wind, he said, was east-south. 'We do not say so, in Europe,' thought I, but imagine my surprise when in explaining the utility of the compass, he added that the needle pointed south. On landing, the first object that attracted my attention was a military mandarin, who wore an embroidered petticoat, with a string of beads around his neck, and a fan in his hand. His insignia of rank was a button on the apex of his sugar-loaf cap, instead of a star on his breast, or epaulettes on his shoulders; and it was with some dismay, I observed him mount on the right side of his horse. Several scabbards hung from his belt, which of course I thought must contain dress-swords or dirks, but on venturing near through the crowd of attendants, I was surprised to see a pair of chopsticks and a knife-handle sticking out of one, and soon his fan was folded up and put into the other, whereupon I concluded he was going to a dinner instead of a review. The natives around me had their hair all shaven on the front of their head, and let it grow as long as it would behind; many of them did not shave their faces, but their mustaches were made to grow perpendicularly down over their mouths, and lest some straggling hairs should diverge cheek-ways, the owners were busily employed pulling them down. 'We arrange our toilettes differently in Europe,' thought I, but could not help acknowledging the happy device of chopsticks, which enabled these gentlemen to put their food into the mouth endwise, underneath this natural fringe.

"On my way to the house where I was to put up, I saw a group of old people, some of whom were graybeards; a few were chirruping and chuckling to singing birds, which they carried perched on a stick or in cages; others were catching flies to feed the birds; and the remainder of the party seemed to be delightedly employed in flying fantastic paper kites, while a group of boys were gravely looking on, and regarding these innocent occupations of their seniors with the most serious and gratified attention. As I had come to the country to reside for sometime, I made inquiries respecting a teacher, and the next morning found me provided with one who happily understood English. On entering the room, he stood at the door, and instead of coming forward and shaking my hands, he politely bowed, and shook his own before his breast. I looked upon this custom as a decided improvement upon our mode, especially in doubtful cases; and requested him to be seated. I knew I was about to study a language without an alphabet, but was somewhat astonished to find him begin at what I had all my life previously considered the end of the book. He read the date of the publication, 'The fifth year, tenth month, and first day.' 'We arrange our dates differently,' I observed, and begged him to begin to read, which he did from the top to the bottom, then proceeding from the right to the left. 'You have an odd book here,'

remarked I, taking it out of his hands; and looking farther, saw that the running title was on the edge of the leaves instead of the top; that the paging was near the bottom; that the marginal notes were on the top of the page; that the blank space at the top of the page was very much larger than at the bottom; that the blanks for correction were large black squares in the middle of the column instead of white openings;* that the back was open, and the name written on the bottom edge; and lastly that the volume had a heavy line near the middle of every page, which he said separated the two works contained in it. I asked the price of the work, and he said it was a dollar and eight thirds, and on counting out $\$3\frac{2}{3}$ he gave me back $\$2\frac{1}{3}$, saying I had paid him too much; I asked an explanation, and learned that in China eight thirds meant three eighths; a long time after I learned still further that it was really eight divided by three, a mode of expression, which, by placing the numerator after the denominator, is just opposite our own. Another small volume which he took out of his pocket, had the number and caption of the chapters at the foot instead of the head; and my astonishment was increased, when on requesting him to find a word in a small dictionary, he told me the words were arranged by the end instead of the beginning—*ming*, *sing*, *king*, being all in a row.

"Giving the book back to him, I begged him to speak of ceremony. He commenced by saying, 'When you receive a distinguished guest, do not fail to place him on your left hand, for that is the seat of honor; and be cautious not to uncover the head, as it would be an unbecoming act of familiarity.' This was a severe below to any established notions, but requested him to continue. He reöpened the volume, and read with becoming gravity, 'The most learned men are decidedly of opinion, that the seat of the human understanding is in the belly.' 'Better say it is in the feet, and done with it,' exclaimed I, for this so shocked all my principles of correct philosophy, that I immediately shut up the book, and dismissed my moonshe to come another day.

"On going abroad, I met so many things contrary to all my preconceived ideas of propriety, that I readily assented to a friend's observation 'that the Chinese were our antipodes in many things besides geography.' 'Indeed,' said I, 'it is so; I shall almost expect shortly to see a man walking on his head; look, there's a woman in trowsers, and a party of gentleman in petticoats; she is smoking a segar, and they are fanning themselves;' but I was taught not to trust to appearances too much, when on passing them, I saw the latter wore tight under-garments. We soon after met the comprador of the house dressed in a complete suit of white, and I stopped and asked him what merry-making he was invited to; with a look of the deepest concern, he said, he was just returning from burying his father. Soon we passed a house, where we heard sobbing and crying, and desiring to alleviate grief, I inquired who was ill. The man, suppressing a smile, said, 'it is a young girl just about leaving her father's house to be married, and she is lamenting

* The black places which occur in some books, as for instance the Court Calendar, are caused by the block being left uncut for subsequent correction.

with a party of her fellows.' I thought, after these unlucky essays, I would ask no more questions; but carefully use my eyes instead. Looking into a shop, I saw a stout strapping fellow sowing lace on a bonnet; and going on to the landing-place, behold, there all the ferry-boats were rowed by women; and from a passage-boat just arrived, I saw the females get out of the cabin which was in the bow. 'What are we coming to next?' said I, and just by I saw a carpenter take his foot-rule out of his stocking, to measure some timber, which his apprentice was cutting with a saw that had the blade set nearly at right angles with the frame. Before his door sat a man busily engaged in whitening the soles of a pair of shoes with white lead. We next passed a fashionable lady who was just stepping out of her chair, hobbling, I should rather say; for unlike our ladies with their compressed waists, her feet were not above three inches long; and her gown, instead of having gores sewed into the bottom, was so contracted by embroidered plaits as apparently to restrain her walking. 'Come let us return home,' said I, 'for I am quite whirled about in this strange land.'"

This sketch will somewhat illustrate a Chinaman's ideas of propriety; it is very manifest from it that there is no accounting for or reasoning against tastes, and that if we wish to judge fairly of many things that he does, and of many of his notions, some knowledge of their rationale is desirable. If this his outer man is unlike what we deem good taste, we shall find, alas, that his inner man is much more unlike, much farther estranged from what we are taught to regard as (and know to be) good morals.

ART. VII. *Memorial from Keshen, concerning the attack on Chuenpe; with replies thereto from the emperor.*

MEMORIAL from your majesty's slave, Keshen, with reference to the English foreigners' not waiting for replies, but straightway attacking the forts of Shakok and Taikok;—even now, while the contest yet rests undecided, is this report sent with all speed, by an express, traveling diligently more than 500 *le* daily, in order to be humbly submitted to your majesty's sacred perusal.

After your slave had this morning dispatched his respectful report, regarding the communication he had prepared to send in answer to the English foreigners, and regarding the actual warlike display of banners,—a dispatch was received by express, at a later period of

the day, from your minister, Kwan Teënpei, the commander-in-chief of the naval forces. It reported, that all the vessels of the English foreigners had weighed anchor, during the morning of the 7th, and in distinct squadrons had proceeded to attack the forts of Shakok and Taikok, outside the Bocca Tigris: that the fire of the guns was kept up incessantly, and the contest sustained all around, from 8 A.M. till 2 P.M., during which the foreign vessels had fired above 10 [rounds of] cannon: that our forces, with all their strength and energy, responded to the attack, till about 2 P.M., when from a distance some of the foreigners were seen to have fallen into the water: that, as it happened, the tide began to ebb, and the foreign vessels ceased firing, and are now anchored in the middle of the stream, between Shakok and Taikok, each side maintaining its ground: that, probably, with the making of the flood, the next morning, the contest would recommence: and, further, that there were four steam-vessels, which fell upon the war junks, but finding the attack responded to by our vessels, drew off again without having decided the contest on either side.

Your slave, since his arrival at Canton, has in repeated instances exchanged communications with the English foreigners: and has at all times given them admonitory commands, with mildness: and as regards the several things solicited by them, though he has not been able completely to satisfy their rapacious cravings, still he has with a liberal hand granted a measure of what they desired. Yet these foreigners, on the present occasion, having, upon the 6th, sent in a foreign letter, hastily, on the morning of the 7th, without waiting for a reply, proceeded straightway to attack the forts — to such a degree has their presumptuous overbearing and unruly violence been carried! Some, giving their advice on this matter, express it as their opinion, that if the whole defensive and preventive guard be firmly maintained, *that* will suffice in time to weary them out. Or, it is said, if they only be granted commercial intercourse, a restraining cordon may then be kept around what they have. Whether or not these schemes are worthy of confidence, your sacred majesty's wisdom and thorough knowledge will determine,—and to escape it would be impossible.

These foreigners, now, having dared to commence this attack, and having begun troubling and disturbing, the present quarrel is then of their own creation; in their behalf nothing can be said; and, as they would not wait for the communication prepared for them, there would be no propriety in now sending it to them.

The fort of Shakok stood solitary, cut off by the sea, and it is to be observed, that, before this collision, from apprehension that it was insufficiently protected, 200 men of the lieut.-governor's brigade had been sent to occupy the important entrance into Tungkwăn district; and 200 of the personal brigade of the commander-in-chief had been sent to defend such places as should need increased protection.

The fortified point of Taikok nearly adjoins the range of land called Nansha (the southern sands), and it is to be apprehended, lest the said foreigners, making a circuit behind the hills should make their way inwards. Having sent an express to your majesty's minister, Kwan, the commander-in-chief, to inquire of him what points will require the addition of forces, he has himself personally examined those positions near to that place, where it will be suitable to post military guards, and having reported the same he has received instructions accordingly to post forces thereat. At the same time directions have been given, to prepare, with all celerity, large quantities of gunpowder, iron ball, and so forth, sufficient, it is hoped, for many months' use,—in order thus to facilitate the defense of the various places.

The Bocca Tigris is the post of which the commander-in-chief retains the defense. To coöperate with and aid him in its defense, your slave has sent Le, general of the Chaouchow division, who will be able to give him efficient counsel and assistance.

A detachment of naval forces has also been posted on shore at Woochung kow, distant about sixty *le* (roughly, about 20 miles) from the city of Canton; the river has been filled up by sinking stones; and rafts of spars have been so placed as to prevent any passage beyond. These arrangements were all, on the 27th of December, successively reported complete, under the superintendence of the *chungheë*, Keshow, and the *foosze*, Cho Szeleäng.

At Canton itself, adjoining the walls of the city, are the houses of the people, rendering it a matter of difficulty to fire from thence. But at the same time, the river flows all round, leaving no place for the encampment of troops. There are found, however, on the river itself, forts of old standing, for the better defense of which the garrisons have been increased;—and to such as have flats adjoining them, encamped forces have also been attached, to aid in the defense of each place.

With regard to the provinces of Fuhkeën and Chĕkeäng, your slave, as early as the first decade of last month (the close of November), having carefully inquired into the actual and daily more press-

ing condition of things with all the said foreigners, felt reason to apprehend that they might go to other ports and inlets; and therefore communications were immediately sent to your majesty's minister Woo Wanyung, governor of Fuhkeën and Chĕkeäng, and to the high commissioner in Chĕkeäng, Elepoo, to afford them every information; and they were moved to transmit the same information to the adjoining government of Keängsoo, that there also all requisite observation and defense might be maintained. The distance being however considerable, and the regulation of the governmental posts being rather lax, it is uncertain whether the dispatches then sent will have yet arrived, and whether the information sent has been communicated to the various provinces along the coast.

Whether or not our forces have suffered in this conflict, and to what extent wounds may have been inflicted, shall be reported with all haste as soon as ascertained. And of the state of things henceforward, full reports shall be transmitted from time to time. The memorial is now first sent by an express, traveling with diligence to exceed the rate of 500 *le* daily, in order to convey intelligence of the circumstances attending the attack made by these foreigners, without waiting for replies, and of the collision which in consequence took place. The memorial is respectfully submitted, imploring the august sovereign to cast on it his sacred glance. (Jan. 8th, 1841.)

Imperial edict issued on the 5th day of the 1st month (January 27th, 1841).

A report has been received from Keshen, setting forth the circumstances of an attack on, and capture of, certain forts, by the English foreigners.

These rebellious foreigners, from the time of their return to Canton, have been daily increasing in disorderliness and insubordination. And we have therefore issued repeated and strict commands to all the provinces, that the most attentive and well ordered guard of prevention should be maintained; and that fit occasion should be taken to proceed against them for their destruction. With what care, then, did it become all the high officers, civil and military, of the provinces, to have arranged their defense! But to-day, the report is received from Keshen, that where he is, the fort of Shakok has been attacked and taken by the rebellious foreigners, and that that of Taikok also has been destroyed; and withal that the soldiery of the government have fallen, dead and wounded, and the naval vessels have been carried off and plundered. It is plain from this, that the

said acting governor, and his fellow-officers, have in no way taken the needful preparative arrangements for prevention and defense. Let the proper Board take into its severest consideration the conduct of Keshen. At the same time, let him have direction of the forces sent from all parts, and exert his utmost efforts to drive off or destroy these foreigners, speedily reporting an entire victory.—Kwan Teën-pei, though filling the post of commander-in-chief, and having under his control the whole naval force, has shown himself at all times devoid of talent to direct, and, on the approach of a crisis, perturbed, alarmed, and resourceless. Let his button and insignia of rank be at once taken from him,—but let him, at the same time, bearing his offenses, labor to attain merit, and show forth his after-endeavors. The said acting governor and his colleagues will make clear inquiry and full report as to all the officers, subalterns, and soldiers, wounded or slain. Respect this.

On the same 27th day of January, this further imperial edict was issued.

An express from Keshen reports that the rebellious foreigners have attacked and destroyed certain forts. In consequence of the daily increasing disorderliness and insubordination of these rebellious foreigners, our commands were before repeatedly issued, declaring it as our pleasure, that secure preparative arrangements should be made, and fit occasion taken to proceed to their destruction—considering that they have coveted Canton, and that not merely for a day.

The said high commissioner,—sustaining a most weighty trust,—and knowing, as he did, that the temper of these foreigners is proud and overbearing, seeing also that the military condition of the province where he is has fallen into decay for this long time past,—should have begun with defensive precautions, with the view of being prepared to avert any disaster. Yet is this report now received from him, that the rebellious foreigners have seized upon the fort of Shakok, and further attacked that of Taikok. From the fact that, when, these foreigners, on the 7th of January, let loose their passions, and began firing upon these two forts, they were at once able to destroy them,—it is to be seen, that no preparations whatever could have been made in that province: such neglect calls forth bitter indignation. Our commands have therefore been plainly declared, that Keshen and Kwan Teënpei be, the last deprived of his button and other insignia of rank, and the former subjected to the severest consideration of his conduct.

The rebellious dispositions of these foreigners being now plainly manifested,—there remains no other course than, without remorse, to destroy and wash them clean away, and thus to display the majesty of the empire. What room can there yet be left for showing them consideration and exhibiting to them reason! Expresses have consequently been sent to Hoonan, Szechuen, and Kweichow, to direct that forces be sent from each of those provinces, with all speed, to Canton. And to Keängse, an express has also been sent, directing that the 2000 men before ordered from thence shall proceed with all haste to join these. All the forces of the province of Kwangtung itself shall be under the control and direction of the said acting governor. And, the posture of affairs being at this time urgent and pressing, let him at once proceed to occupy each several post and passage of importance: let him not suffer the least remissness or negligence to appear. The forces ordered from various parts may all successively reach Canton within the second month (beginning 21st February). And let him then proceed immediately to take command of all the officers and subalterns, and lead them on to the extermination of these foreigners,—thus hoping to atone for and save himself.

Regarding the forts of Kwangtung, it was before represented by Tăng and his then colleagues, that they were protected by rafts and chains thrown across so as to stop the progress of the foreign vessels. Let Keshen, then, ascertain and duly report, whether or not these places now taken, Shakok and Taikok, are the same places (as those where the rafts were thrown across). That these commands may be made known—let them be sent by an express traveling 600 *le* (about 200 miles) daily. Respect this.

Upon the same day this further imperial edict was also received:

Our ruling dynasty has kept in good order and discipline the exterior foreigners, wholly by the perfect exercise of good favor and of justice. So long as those foreigners have been truly compliant and dutiful, they have unfailingly been treated with generous liberality,—in the hope that all might rejoice together in the blessing of peace.

Some time back, owing to the daily increasing prevalence of the poisonous opium, introduced by western foreigners, commands were issued to make vigorous endeavors to arrest the growing contumacy. But the English alone, staying themselves upon their pride of power and fierce strength, would not give the required bonds; and for this it was commanded, that they should be cut off from commercial intercourse. But, in place of repenting themselves, they daily increased in boastful arrogance. And suddenly, in the 6th month of

last year, they went so far as to invade with several tens of vessels, the district of Tinghae, seizing and occupying its chief town. And they further came and went, as they would, along the coasts of the several provinces of Fuhkeën, Chĕkeäng, Keängsoo, Shantung, Chĭhle, and Moukden, causing disturbance and trouble in many ways. The violence, presumption, and disobedience, of these rebellious foreigners having reached such a degree,—it would have been no hard thing to array our forces, and to exterminate and cut them off utterly. But, considering that these foreigners had presented letters, complaining of what they called grievances and oppressions, it was deemed unsuitable to refuse to make investigations for them, and thus to fail of displaying the perfect justice of our rule. Hence special commands were given to our minister, Keshen, to proceed with speed to Canton, and to examine and act according to the facts. Had these foreigners possessed a spark of heaven-bestowed goodness, they would assuredly all have returned to Canton to await his arrangement of matters. But a half only weighed their anchors and proceeded southward, while a half still remained at Tinghae,—thus exhibiting the craft and slipperiness of their dispositions, too clearly to need pointing out. And we have recently received intelligence, that at Tinghae, during these months past, they have debauched and ravished women, plundered and carried off property, erected fortifications, and opened out canals,—even setting up a mock officer, to issue proclamations demanding of the people payment of the revenue. What evil have our people done, to be subjected to this bane and hurt? To speak, or to think, thereof removes even from sleep and from food their enjoyment. After the arrival of Keshen at Canton, when he proceeded plainly to admonish and point out the right course, they still continued insatiable in their covetous desires. Having first thought to extort the cost of the opium, they further requested that places of trade should be given them.

We had anticipated finding them changeable and inconstant, and had estimated them as persons not to be influenced by truth and justice: we had, therefore, made provision, last year, for the selection of veteran troops, of the provinces of Szechuen, Hoonan, and Keängse, to be ordered for service in Kwangtung; and we had also ordered forces from Hoonan, Hoopĭh, and Ngauhwuy, to proceed to Chĕkeäng, as a precaution against attack. And now the report received by express from Keshen is, that on the 15th day of the 12th month of last year (7th January, 1841), these foreigners, in combination with Chinese traitors, proceeded on board many vessels, directly

for the offing of the Bocca Tigris; and that, having opened the thunder of their fire, they inflicted wounds upon our officers and soldiers, and also destroyed the fort of Taikok, and possessed themselves of that of Shakok. Thus rebellious have they been against heaven, opposers of reason, one in spirit with the brute beasts,—beings that the overshadowing vault and all-containing earth can hardly suffer to live,—obnoxious to the wrathful indignation alike of angels and of men There can only remain one course, to destroy and wipe them clean away, to exterminate and root them out, without remorse. Then shall we manifestly discharge our heaven-conferred trust, and show our regard for the lives of our people.

The various forces that have been ordered for service must now speedily reach their posts. Let Elepoo instantly advance with the forces under him, and recover Tinghae, that he may revive its people from their troubles. And let Keshen on his part, stir up the soldiery, and with energy and courage proceed right on, making it his determined aim, to compel these rebellious foreigners to give up their ringleaders, that they may be sent encaged to Peking, to receive the utmost retribution of the laws. The base and vile fellows among those foreigners, and the Chinese traitors who abet their rebellious practices, are yet more to be sought after. Measures must be devised for seizing them, nor must proceedings cease till they be utterly slain.

Regarding the coasts of all the maritime provinces, it has repeatedly been declared to be our pleasure, that strict and well arranged measures of precaution be everywhere taken. Let all the authorities,—generals, governors, lieut.-governors—with increased diligence maintain a constant plan of observation, and, as soon as any come, attack them. And let them also proclaim it to all, whether officers or people, that it becomes them to regard these foreigners with a hostile spirit, to cherish towards them the asperity of personal enemies. Speedily report perfect victory, and all shall enjoy rewards from their sovereign. That it will be so, we indeed cherish strong hopes.

Be these our commands made known universally. Respect this.

ART. VIII. *Journal of Occurrences: perfidy with interruption of negotiations; battle at the Bogue; rewards for Englishmen; detention of prisoners at Chusan; imperial edict declaring war of extermination; present state of affairs; shipwrecked Japanese.*

From the following notices, and from the documents contained in the preceding article, may be seen of what sort of government, and of what sort of men, the celestial empire is composed.

No. 1. *Circular to her majesty's subjects.*

The imperial minister and high commissioner having failed to conclude the treaty of peace, lately agreed upon by H. M.'s plenipotentiary, within the allotted period, hostilities were resumed yesterday afternoon. A Chinese force, employed, under cover of a masked battery and strong field-work, in blocking up a channel of the river at the back of Anunghoy, was dislodged, the obstructions effectually cleared away, the guns in battery and deposit, amounting to about 80 pieces of various calibre, rendered unservicable, and the whole of the military materiel destroyed. This effective service was accomplished without loss, in two hours, by captain Herbert, of H. M.'s ship Calliope, having under his command the steam vessel Nemesis, and pinnaces of H. M.'s ships Calliope, Samarang, Herald, and Alligator. The extent of the enemy's loss has not been ascertained.

On board H. M.'s ship Calliope, off South Wangtong, February 24, 1841.

(Signed) Charles Elliot, H. M.'s Plenipotentiary.

No. 2. *To her majesty's subjects.*

The batteries of the Bocca Tigris have this day fallen to her majesty's forces. Several hundred prisoners have been captured, the enemy is in flight in all directions, and no loss reported up to this hour on our side.

H. M. ship Calliope, off North Wangtong, 26th February, 3 p. m.

(Signed) Charles Elliot, H. M.'s Plenipotentiary.

No. 3. *Public notice.*

H. M.'s ship Wellesley, at anchor off North Wangtong, 20th Feb. 1841.

The batteries at the Bocca Tigris having this day fallen to her majesty's arms, notice is hereby given that all British and foreign merchant vessels are permitted to repair to that point, and that they will be allowed to proceed higher, as soon as it is ascertained that the river is clear of all obstructions.

(Signed) J. J. G. Bremer, Commander-in-chief.

This failure to conclude the treaty of peace, this *perfidy with interruption of negotiations*, can be rightly understood only when viewed in connection with the whole course of events since the arrival here of H. B. M.'s expedition last June. Its objects were to obtain redress and indemnity for the past, with securities and immunities for the future. However; the instructions to the plenipotentiaries not having been here published, their import can only be conjectured from what has transpired. It should be carefully borne in mind, as we proceed, that *to make war on the Chinese*, formed professedly no part of the objects of the expedition, provided its ends could be secured by other means; consequently a trial of pacific measures must needs first be made.

The first question with the plenipotentiaries was (or appears to have been) whether the forts at the Bogue should be demolished or left standing, while they with the naval and military force should move northward. The feeling of the British and foreign community here was almost unanimous in favor of the first measure; they chose the latter, and wisely—at least so we were inclined to think.

It having been determined on—we presume in accordance with instructions from the queen's government at home—to take immediate possession of Chusan, an advanced force under commodore Bremer moved forward for that purpose. The plenipotentiaries, with the

remainder of the expedition, followed soon after. When off the coast of Fuhkeën, one of the vessels, bearing a flag of truce, was sent with a dispatch to the port of Amoy. The ship was fired on, and the communication refused. As Chinese policy forbade the reception of this dispatch, it would have been wise, perhaps, not to have given opportunity for the committal of such an outrage.

As to the right and expediency of occupying Tinghae—which fell on the 5th of July,—we have been in doubt. Indeed, the occupation of any insular position has always seemed to us objectionable. There may have been reasons for, and advantages resulting from, taking Chusan, of which we are ignorant; but judging from what we know, it would have been better to have rendezvoused at some small island (of the size of Shachow in this vicinity). This would have prevented the long detention of the expedition at Chusan, and would have allowed the entire force to have gone up—a part upon the Yangtsze keäng, and a part to the mouth of the Pei ho, early in July: and at these two positions—the nearest to the court that it was possible for them to reach—the forces should have remained until all questions at issue were settled. "Let us—a great desideratum"—says Mr. Warren, "penetrate to Peking, and learn what is the real state of things *there;* and let us cheerfully yield to what we shall find to be the reasonable and just wishes of the emperor." So we have always argued; and accordingly would have abstained from attacking Chusan, and from every other hostile act, save only to lay on a blockade.

A different course was resolved on, and it may have been the right one. With its principal details, our readers are familiar. After a month's delay, and the rejection of lord Palmerston's communication by the provincial authorities, the plenipotentiaries proceeded north, and arrived off the mouth of the Pei ho, August 9th. The presence of so large a squadron, (though not the half it might have been) so near the capital, had no small effect. The tone of the imperial government was changed, and in correspondence it became respectful and courteous and pacific. No doubt the blow on Chusan helped to produce this effect; and perhaps it may on this account be justified. Negotiations soon commenced between the plenipotentiaries and the imperial minister Keshen. The twice rejected letter was at once received; a long interview was held; and at length it was agreed, that Keshen should meet the plenipotentiaries at Canton, that half the forces should immediately withdraw from Chusan, and hostilities cease all along the coast.

The emperor's participation in this agreement, is fully attested by H. I. M.'s own edict, dated September 17th at Peking, appointing Keshen high commissioner, and ordering his officers in the provinces to observe the armistice. See vol. IX. page 411.

The accepting of this agreement was an act of great generosity on the part of the plenipotentiaries, who, at the moment the edict above alluded to was being issued, were on their return with the squadron to Chusan. There they found that the Kite had been lost, and that her crew, with others, had fallen into the hands of the Chinese.

Unwilling to do aught that could infringe the agreement with the emperor, the prisoners were left at Ningpo, while they with half of their forces returned to Canton. They arrived here November 20th, Keshen soon after, and negotiations were resumed.

The armistice agreed on with the emperor, it should be remarked here *en passant*, was of a somewhat doubtful nature—doubtful, we say, because it became necessary for the plenipotentiaries to obtain a new one for Chusan before leaving that neighborhood; because, immediately upon their arrival here, one of their vessels was fired on from the Chinese guns at Chuenpe; and because the blockade was not raised. For firing on the flag of truce, ample apology was made, and negotiations went on.

At this early period, *apparently* there was but one sentiment prevailing on all sides. The troops at Ningpo were being disbanded; the people began to return to the city of Tinghae; and Keshen, in a very generous manner, released Mr. Stanton and others who had been prisoners in Canton. Such were the friendly appearances early in December.

His excellency governor Lin, the principal agent in the offensive acts complained of, had already been displaced and censured by his master. Filled with chagrin, this true son of Han and strong supporter of all the objectionable principles of his country's policy, just before delivering up the seals of his office, addressed a long and very passionate memorial to the throne, urging hostilities. This, which he circulated widely among his friends in various parts of the country, was quickly followed by others of similar spirit. They took effect. The mild sovereign paused; vacillated; and then *changed* his purposes—so, at least, we are constrained to think. The first indication of this change which came under our observation was

"An imperial edict issued on the 14th day of the 12th month of the 20th year of Taoukwang (January 6th, 1841).

"To-day Lew Yunho has reported by memorial that, having gone in person to Chinhae, he made faithful inquiry concerning the dispositions of foreigners, &c. Keshen has also reported, concerning the dispositions of the foreigners at Canton, that they appear more violent and overbearing. Already our instructions have been given to all the generals, governors, and lt.-governors to increase the strength of their defenses, and to be timely prepared for sudden attack. The provincial city of Chĕkeäng is a place of much importance; whatever measures are requisite for Tinghae, let Lew Yunho in concert with Elepoo faithfully deliberate upon and draw out, and then immediately return to the provincial city, and instruct the civil and military officers there to maintain strong defenses. If the said foreigners again come to present any petitions, let them all be utterly rejected; should any of their ships sail near the ports on the coast, at once let matchlocks and artillery be opened, and the thundering attack be made dreadful. There must be no wavering, so as to exhibit the slightest degree of awe or fear. Respect this."

Such was the imperial pleasure on the 6th of January. It virtually nullified the armistice announced in his edict of Nov. 17th. At Chusan, under the administration of Lew Yunho, the new lieut.-governor, affairs had already changed for the worse, and the people of Tinghae were abandoning the city and carrying off their effects. Here Keshen,—according to his estimation—having "with a liberal hand

granted a measure of what was desired," faltered. The action of the 7th followed; and the cession of Hongkong, an indemnity of six millions of dollars, direct official intercourse upon terms of equality in favor of the English, the restoration of Chuenpe and Chusan to the Chinese, their return of prisoners, &c., were agreed on, in due form. The squadron immediately withdrew from the Bogue, which was to have been attacked on the 8th, and the two captured forts were restored. Dispatches were hastened up for the speedy evacuation of Chusan. Formal possession was taken of Hongkong. Trade with Canton was to be opened on or before the 1st of February, and a treaty signed on or before the 20th of the same month.

In the teeth of all these friendly professions, hostile preparations were in progress in and about Canton, at the Bogue, and elsewhere—by order of the emperor—of which the following is proof.

"On the 11th of February, Keshen the imperial minister and high commissioner and governor of the two Kwang provinces, Ah the commandant of Kwangchow, and Kwŏ general in command of the land forces, received a dispatch from the General Council, covering an imperial edict issued on the 30th of January.

"A memorial has this day been received from Keshen, setting forth the circumstances of the capture of forts, and of the difficulties of warding off danger and of maintaining the defenses. Also, in a supplementary memorial, *he earnestly solicits an exercise of favor*, &c. A glance at these memorials filled us with indignation and grief. The said high minister, because the provincial city on account of its granaries and treasuries is an important place, and because of the very numerous population, being anxious lest disturbances might break out, therefore devising a scheme of temporary expediency, *pretended to promise what was requested*, and for the time being did not restrain and seize them. But now already our pleasure has been sent down, investing Yihshan with the office of "general-pacificator of the rebellious," and Lungwăn and Yangfang with that of assistant ministers, to repair to Canton to coöperate in the work of extermination; also WE have appointed an additional force of 2000 troops from each of the provinces of Hoopih, Szechuen, and Kweichow, to proceed thither in haste. On their arrival, it will not be difficult to arrange our martial ranks, and with great celerity carry out the work of attack and extermination.

"Ah the commandant residing near (or in) the provincial city, and Kwŏ commanding the whole of the land forces, are intrusted with the duty of protection and defense. Let the abovenamed high ministers with pressing diligence exercise our brave soldiers, encourage them by rewards, and timely prepare the requisite munitions—provisions, money, matchlocks, cannon, and gunpowder; and on the arrival of Yihshan and the others, let them all act together in perfect harmony, with combined strength advance to the work of extermination, recover back the lost points, clearly display the vengeance of heaven, and achieve for themselves great merit. There must not be the slightest awe or fear, that may lead to failure. Let these instructions be urged on with haste, at the rate of more than 600 *le* per day, that our commands may quickly be made known. Respect this."

On the 19th, before the preceding edict had been made public, hostile movements became so conspicuous, that commodore Bremer determined to return with his forces to the Bogue. The notices at the head of this article show what followed. The details of the battle we cannot now give. Henceforth it will certainly be hard to say that pacific measures have not been sufficiently tried. It was, we think, meet and fit that they should be tried; and, though we had no sanguine expectations of their success, it must be a satisfaction to know that they have been put to the test. The question of indemnity was settled; it was with regard to the future that the collision came on.

Rewards for Englishmen were offered, under the seals of the high provincial officers, on the 25th, the day before the battle. For each of the ringleaders, $50,000 were offered; for others a smaller sum. This measure was devised some days previously to the interruption of negotiations!

On the 27th a battery of some 50 guns was demolished, about 200 Chinese killed, the Chesapeake burnt, and a squadron of 40 vessels dispersed at Second Bar. The next day the Calliope, Herald, Alligator, Modeste, Sulphur, with the steamers Nemesis and Madagascar were at anchor above the Second Bar off the Brunswick Rocks.

On the *present state of public affairs* it is not easy to form any opinion which may not be shaken or changed the next hour. The Chinese are dumb, and some of them even deny the capture of the forts at the Bogue. It is certain, however, that they have been demolished, excepting one which is to be reserved by the captors.

What, now, is the proper course to be pursued? With whom can the plenipotentiary now treat, and where? At Canton and with the imperial commissioner? But can his promises be received? Will he not again make false pretenses?

Shipwrecked Japanese.—The American brig Argyle, captain F. Codman, which arrived from South America on the 19th instant, brought three Japanese sailors who had been rescued from a wreck in the North Pacific (June 9th, 1840), in lat. 34° N., long. 170° 30′ E., more than 2500 miles from their home. They were bound to Yedo, and, driven beyond their port by a westerly gale, had been drifting about for 181 days when found; the vessel was a single masted boat, loaded with a cargo of 400 peculs of rice. They are from the village of Okinosu in the principality of Toötomi, lying about 100 miles SW. from Yedo. Their names are Akahori Shentarō, aged 37, the captain of the vessel; Kamiyama Matsunoski, aged 50, who has left a family at home; and Asayama Tatsuzoü, aged 28. They were much pleased to find some of their countrymen in China. From them we learn that in many parts of the empire, especially among the eastern principalities of Nippon, severe famines have been experienced for three or four years past, so that the poor had died by the roadside of starvation; some of the princes had prohibited the exportation of all provisions out of their own dominions. The cargo of this vessel was designed for one of the princes of Toötomi then at Yedo. They represent the country as generally at peace internally. Much praise is due to capt. Codman for the kindness he has shown to these men since they were rescued, and the hope is not a groundless one that they may still be returned to their native land.

P. S. March 5th. We learn that the prisoners at Ningpo have been released, and are with the troops and transports on their way down from Chusan. Some of them have already arrived.

On Wednesday the 3d the ships were at Whampoa, and a force was preparing to move on Howqua's fort, when a flag of truce came off, and a conference was held between the plenipotentiary and officers from Canton at 3 P.M.

Date Due

Ap 18 '45			
Ap 27 '45			
F 4 '46			